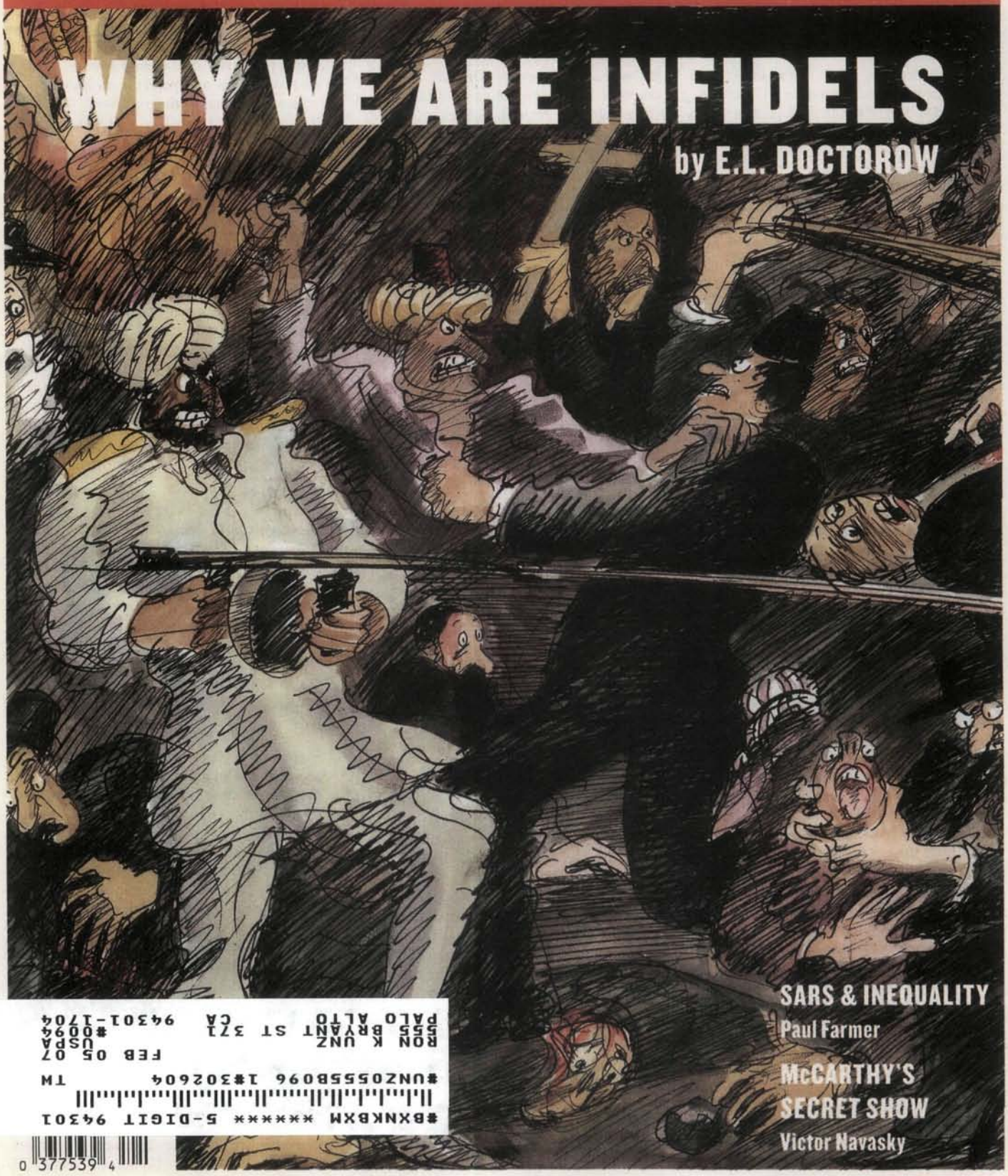
MAY 26, 2003

The Poets of Baghdad · Sinan Antoon

$2.95 US/$3.95 CANADA

The Nation.



WHY WE ARE INFIDELS

by E.L. DOCTOROW

SARS & INEQUALITY
Paul Farmer

McCARTHY'S SECRET SHOW
Victor Navasky

WWW.THENATION.COM

#BXNKBXM ****** 5-DIGIT 94301
#UNZ055SB096 1#302604 TW
FEB 05 07
RON K UNZ
555 BRYANT ST 371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704
#0094
USPA

0 377539 4

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Letters

CHRISTOPH NIEMANN

CAN WE TALK? GUESS NOT

Los Angeles

■ Eric Alterman's April 21 "Stop the Presses" is most courageous. I hope he will be strong enough to withstand the barrage. He raises questions that must be asked. ARVID KNUDSEN

San Francisco

■ Eric Alterman's column is misdirected, without balance and fans the flames of anti-Semitism in America. First, in making statements like "this war has put Jews in the showcase as never before," Alterman portrays us Jews as being so arrogant that we entertain such self-absorbed questions at a time like this. This is not a showcase or a case of "our inability to engage the question" or "forc[ing] the discussion into subterranean and sometimes anti-Semitic territory." This is a time of war. Our country has invaded another. Civilians have been killed. Precious children have been maimed. Eric, where is your humanity? Our questions should be centered on the rule of law and human decency.

Alterman goes on to say, "We ought to be honest enough to at least imagine a hypothetical clash between American and Israeli interests. Here, I feel pretty lonely admitting that, every once in a while, I'm going to go with what's best for Israel." Well Eric, I certainly hope you *are* lonely, because I can categorically say that I don't support this view. Maybe it's my West Coast roots, but I've never heard a Jewish family member or friend say they support Israel's interests over America's. I find this statement out of step with Jewish America. In the future, if you plan to write such personal, provocative viewpoints, I suggest you add alternative points of view to provide perspective and balance.

Last, Alterman has chosen to focus on a Jewish conspiracy theory rather than address the question of Jewish sentiment on the war and on the actions of the White House cabal. Even with comments like "American Jews seem no more prowar than the US population," the underlying theme is that the wishes and actions of the cabal and the media represent the primal desires of all US Jews. This focus can only work to divide Jews and non-Jews. I am Jewish, but I am first a human being. I was not raised with a "dual loyalty." I was raised with a deep respect for the law and the American political experiment. From that perspective, I find Alterman's perspective irresponsible. STEVEN HERTZBERG

ALTERMAN REPLIES

New York City

■ Thanks to Arvid Knudsen, who correctly anticipated the "barrage" of mail I've received. Steve Hertzberg's letter is silly. I thought Jews were smarter than this. ERIC ALTERMAN

DIVERSITY BY STEALTH?

New York City

■ David L. Kirp's review "Diversity and Its Malcontents" [April 21] is more disturbing than one of its subjects, Peter H. Schuck's *Diversity in America: Keeping Government at a Safe Distance*. Kirp is deeply troubled by Schuck's thesis that government should not seek to bring about "diversity" by engaging in affirmative action to integrate schools, housing and workplaces. Yet Kirp partially buys into Schuck's argument that less adversarial approaches and more reliance on "less visible" voluntary approaches "may achieve more enduring diversity than government can bring about." Kirp's examples are public school desegregation and the attempts, in New Jersey, to bring about housing in the white suburbs for poor African-Americans. A central reason attempts to bring about school and housing integration met with failure, however, is that governments and the courts—federal, state and local—either gave up or radically changed course or that the judiciary backed down.

For example, the New Jersey Supreme Court in its second *Mount Laurel* decision forcefully imposed a "fair share" obligation on the suburbs to allow African-Americans to escape the cities and bring about some residential integration. When the state legislature undid the court's order, the state Supreme Court ignored its own constitutional analysis and accepted the legislative prescription for continued housing segregation.

Similarly, with regard to public schools, at least in the South, it was both the US Supreme Court and the federal government that changed their approaches, allowing and even mandating that local school boards take actions that inevitably resegregated their schools. As for the North, when the Supreme Court prohibited court orders requiring virtually all-white suburbs to participate in the integration of inner-city black schools, it sounded the death knell for desegregation above the Mason-Dixon line.

If governments and the judiciary at all levels had forcefully required real integration and resisted the backlash, and if liberals had funded their think tanks and public-interest law firms the way the right does, we'd be much further on the road to racial equality. We who believe that society and the entire rainbow it encompasses are best served through integration and equal opportunity should struggle for no matter how many years it may take to reconstitute government and the judiciary so they will act to make America a fairer and more decent country. Sure, we should support housing vouchers and equal funding for all public schools and other programs that may have the appearance of being racially neutral. But giving in to those who advocate voluntary approaches to racial discrimination is no solution, and saying so is not "preaching to the choir." And even if it were, what we must do is work to expand the choir to the point where it can change the preacher.

LEWIS M. STEEL

New York City

■ Although I appreciate David Kirp's serious and insightful review of my new book, *Diversity in America*, he makes a fundamental error. Kirp says that my argument, that preferences by public institutions are more objectionable than private ones, is "plain wrong" and an "artificial" distinction. Noting that even private institutions receive some public support, he says we need "one rule for all." But as my book shows, Kirp's preference for a mandated uniformity is precisely the wrong prescription for a society as diverse and contentious as ours. The line between public and private can indeed be blurry, but respect for this distinction is essential to a polity that values freedom, choice and diversity. PETER H. SCHUCK

KIRP REPLIES

Berkeley, Calif.

■ As a onetime civil rights lawyer and the chronicler of the landmark *Mount Laurel* affordable-housing case in *Our Town: Race, Housing, and the Soul of Suburbia*, I've made arguments similar to Lewis Steel's. I share his belief that integration belongs at the core of the good society. But wishing takes us nowhere, and the history that Steel recites is sadly instructive. Even when judges are fiercely committed to racial justice—and these days such jurists are not thick on the ground—they cannot indefinitely sustain integration without the support, or at least the acquiescence, of the polity. A different road map to racial fairness is needed. Despite its shortcomings, this is what *Diversity in America* is endeavoring to provide, which is why we card-carrying liberals ought to pay close attention.

I appreciate Peter Schuck's praise of my review as "serious and insightful," but on this point he simply misreads my argument. In admissions decisions, public and private universities alike should be free to take into account a wide variety of criteria, including race. Schuck's prescription—one rule for Yale, a different rule for Berkeley—is both morally and legally objectionable. DAVID L. KIRP

NOT EXACTLY TICKLED PINK

Berkeley, Calif.

■ In her March 24 "Subject to Debate," Katha Pollitt complains about "gender-based appeals to women" in the peace movement. Would Pol-

(Continued on Page 23)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRINTED MAY 7 VOLUME 276, NUMBER 20

IN THIS ISSUE

2 **LETTERS**

EDITORIALS & COMMENT

3 SCANDAL ON SCANDAL

4 DEAN'S NO WELLSTONE
Jim Farrell

5 McCARTHY'S SECRET SHOW
Victor Navasky

6 SARS AND INEQUALITY
Paul Farmer

7 LETTER FROM GROUND ZERO
A Nuclear Education
Jonathan Schell

24 IN FACT...

COLUMNS

6 DEADLINE POET
William Bennett's Gambling Habit
Calvin Trillin

8 BEAT THE DEVIL
The Trials of Ed Rosenthal
Alexander Cockburn

9 DIARY OF A MAD LAW PROFESSOR
The Disquieted American
Patricia J. Williams

10 LOOKOUT
Elections vs. Democracy in Argentina
Naomi Klein

ARTICLES

11 WHY WE ARE INFIDELS
Fundamentalists are offended when there is no officially sanctioned path to salvation.
E.L. Doctorow

13 SAMARITANS IN THE DESERT
Defying US policy, they save the lives of illegal migrants, a cup of water at a time.
Bob Moser

18 BRINGING THE WAR HOME
In the name of fighting terrorism, the Army has established a domestic command.
Robert Dreyfuss

20 LETTER FROM SILICON VALLEY
As unemployment soars, many workers are rethinking their libertarian views.
Rebecca Vesely

BOOKS & THE ARTS

25 DEAD POETS SOCIETY
Sinan Antoon

29 TAUBMAN: Khrushchev: The Man and His Era
GORBACHEV AND MLYNAR: Conversations With Gorbachev: On Perestroika, the Prague Spring, and the Crossroads of Socialism
BRESLAUER: Gorbachev and Yeltsin as Leaders
Robert D. English

36 PARTISAN REQUIEM
Peter Brooks

Cover art by Edward Sorel; illustrations by Christoph Niemann, Stephen Savage

EDITORIALS

Scandal on Scandal

The best names in Wall Street, who besmirched themselves with double-dealing stock-market scandals, were finally "punished" recently, and the miscreants could not contain their glee. And why not? Their shared fine of $1.4 billion is trivial alongside the tens of billions that Citigroup, JP Morgan Chase, Merrill Lynch, Morgan Stanley and other firms harvested in the process of duping hapless investors. In the accustomed manner of Wall Street's gentlemanly settlements, nobody admitted guilt and everyone agreed not to do it again. R. Foster Winans, the former *Wall Street Journal* reporter who went to prison in the 1980s for passing insider tips to traders, correctly describes penalties for the big boys as mere "nuisance fees."

Thus we now have scandal on top of scandal. New York State Attorney General Eliot Spitzer gamely initiated these actions against the dominant financial houses, but he lost his nerve along the way. The settlement includes some novel regulatory remedies—Citigroup chairman Sanford Weill is forbidden to talk to his stock analysts without a chaperone present—but these are ludicrous gimmicks (count on it: Weill's wishes will be made known to underlings who are his stock touts). The hollowness of Spitzer's victory was made clear the next day when Morgan Stanley chief executive Philip Purcell boasted, "We have maintained our standards, in market share as well as reputation." Spitzer harrumphed, and the new SEC chairman William Donaldson rebuked Morgan Stanley for "a troubling lack of contrition."

It's too late for scolding, gentlemen. Wall Street beat the rap. Despite the historic proportions of these scandals, the charade of enforcement is now exposed. Spitzer focused on the outrages more energetically than the federal regulators at the SEC, but the meaning is obvious. Behavior that in other business sectors would be immediately understood as "lying, cheating and stealing" on a grand scale is effectively decriminalized in the realm of high finance, at least when the evidence points to leading titans.

This is not news, of course, but one would have thought that the scale of this plundering could inspire action from the political sector—reform of the financial regulatory laws to establish hard-nosed liabilities for culprits, including enforceable criminal standards. Neither political party wishes to touch that subject—yet another scandal. The ugly conflicts of interest embedded in all-service financial firms insure that the corporate clients will be well served by sacrificing the people whose money is in play, from 401(k) investors to the major pension funds that passively followed Wall Street investment counselors and, as a result, lost trillions for working Americans. Get used to it, we are told. This is how capitalism works.

The only true remedy, if there is to be one, must come from the victims themselves—investors willing to rebel against their status as hapless "marks" by withdrawing their funds from the offending financial firms. Pension funds must find new, trustworthy advisers and help create independent investment firms content to serve only one client—the people whose money is at risk. If the pension fund managers fail to act, then the true losers—working Americans whose retirement savings are plundered—should go after them: confront the inept managers through lawsuits and political action, demand a new standard of behavior from these failed fiduciaries or toss them out.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

The Nation.

PUBLISHER AND EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Victor Navasky

EDITOR: Katrina vanden Heuvel

MANAGING EDITOR: Karen Rothmyer
LITERARY EDITOR: Adam Shatz
SENIOR EDITORS: Richard Lingeman, Betsy Reed (*on leave*), Esther Kaplan (*acting*)
COPY CHIEF: Roane Carey
COPY EDITOR: Judith Long
ASSOCIATE LITERARY EDITOR: Hillary Frey
COPY ASSOCIATE: Lisa Vandepaer
ASSISTANT COPY EDITOR/TECHNOLOGY COORDINATOR: Amiri K. Barksdale
ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR: Peggy Suttle
INTERNS: Daniel Benaim, Jonah Engle, Erin Sabra Fuchs, Elinore Longobardi, Jonathan Miller (*Washington*), Priyanka Motaparthy, Melanie Smith, Christopher Swetala, Ari Z. Weisbard

WASHINGTON, DC: EDITOR: David Corn; CORRESPONDENT: John Nichols

NATIONAL AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT: William Greider

COLUMNISTS: Eric Alterman, Alexander Cockburn, Naomi Klein, Katha Pollitt, Patricia J. Williams

DEPARTMENTS: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Films*, Stuart Klawans; *Legal Affairs*, David Cole; *Music*, Edward W. Said, Gene Santoro; *Peace and Disarmament*, Jonathan Schell; *Poetry*, Grace Schulman; *United Nations*, Ian Williams; *Deadline Poet*, Calvin Trillin

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Lucia Annunziata, Kai Bird, George Black, Robert L. Borosage, Stephen F. Cohen, Marc Cooper, Mike Davis, Slavenka Drakulić, Robert Dreyfuss, Susan Faludi, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, Molly Ivins, John Leonard, Michael Moore, Richard Pollak, Joel Rogers, Kirkpatrick Sale, Robert Scheer, Herman Schwartz, Andrew L. Shapiro, Ted Solotaroff, Edward Sorel, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener, Amy Wilentz, Art Winslow

BUREAUS: *Budapest*, Miklós Vámos; *London*, Maria Margaronis and D.D. Guttenplan; *Southern Africa*, Mark Gevisser

EDITORIAL BOARD: Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Eric Foner, Philip Green, Lani Guinier, Tom Hayden, Randall Kennedy, Tony Kushner, Elinor Langer, Deborah W. Meier, Toni Morrison, Richard Parker, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Neil Postman, Marcus G. Raskin, David Weir, Roger Wilkins

PRESIDENT: Teresa Stack

ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, SPECIAL PROJECTS/WEBSITE: Peter Rothberg
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, DEVELOPMENT/ASSOCIATES: Peggy Randall
VICE PRESIDENT, ADVERTISING: Ellen Bollinger
ADVERTISING MANAGER, SMALL DISPLAY, EVENTS, CLASSIFIED: Michael Tierno
CIRCULATION DIRECTOR: Arthur Stupar
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Michelle O'Keefe
ASSISTANT CIRCULATION MANAGER: Inga Knets
PRODUCTION DIRECTOR: Jane Sharples
TYPOGRAPHER/WEB PRODUCER: Sandy McCroskey
PRINT COORDINATOR: Timothy Don
NATION ASSOCIATES MANAGER: Peter Fifield
PUBLICITY/SYNDICATION DIRECTOR: Mike Webb
COMMUNICATIONS COORDINATOR: Imrana Sayed
DIRECTOR OF TECHNOLOGY/WEB PUBLISHER: Scott Klein
CONTROLLER: Mary van Valkenburg
ASSISTANT TO THE PUBLISHER AND OFFICE MANAGER: Mary Taylor Schilling
DATA ENTRY/MAIL COORDINATOR: John Holtz
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT: Kathleen Thomas
RECEPTIONIST/BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Larri Washington

MANUSCRIPT SUBMISSIONS AND LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: E-mail manuscripts to submissions@thenation.com; e-mail letters to the editor (300-word limit) to letters@thenation.com. E-mail is preferred, but submissions and letters may also be mailed to The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. Not responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by SASE. Letters are subject to editing for reasons of space and clarity.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the second week in January, and biweekly the fourth week of July through the third week of September) by The Nation Company, L.P. © 2003 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, L.P., 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. (212) 209-5400. Washington Bureau: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149, or call 1-800-333-8536. **When ordering a subscription, please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $4 prepaid ($6 foreign) from: The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Member, Audit Bureau of Circulations. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149. This issue went to press on May 7. Printed in U.S.A. on recycled paper.

INTERNET: Selections from The Nation are available on Thursday by 12 midnight Eastern Time, at www.thenation.com.

Dean's No Wellstone

Lately, presidential contender Howard Dean has been likening himself to the late Senator Paul Wellstone. Out on the stump, Dean has used a phrase that Wellstone long employed—that we need candidates who "represent the democratic wing of the Democratic Party." Before audiences of progressives and party activists, it is reportedly Governor Dean's best applause line. No wonder. The Democratic rank and file yearn for populist leadership based on a firm commitment to progressive policies.

Dean acknowledges that his own politics are considerably less "liberal" than Wellstone's but that he identifies with the senator's passion and commitment to beliefs. Certainly, Dean's campaign has many of the trappings of progressive politics. Dean himself is an upstart and outsider, and his call for a grassroots campaign to "take back America" *sounds* progressive.

But as Wellstone frequently said, it's not the thought that counts but the deed. So how do the records of the two men compare? Wellstone's history included both activism and intellectual support for civil rights, and he took that same spirit to his first Senate election and ran against big money in politics. In the Senate, Wellstone stood for economic and social justice. He supported expanding collective-bargaining rights and universal healthcare. He opposed the death penalty because it is inequitably applied to minorities and the poor. And he was the only senator up for reelection to vote against the so-called Welfare Reform Act in 1996, because he believed it punished children and played into stereotypes of single women on welfare. Wellstone also voted no on the October Iraq war resolution, following a lifetime of advocating for peace and for a US role in the world that fostered democracy and used military intervention as a last resort.

While Dean may share some measure of Wellstone's passion, his record and his agenda are very different. As governor of Vermont, Dean targeted for elimination the public-financing provision of the state's campaign finance law—a law similar to the one Wellstone pushed in the Senate. In February 2002, Dean said his big donors are given special access. While Wellstone fought for people on welfare, Dean said some welfare recipients "don't have any self-esteem. If they did, they'd be working" and scaled back Vermont's welfare program, reducing cash benefits and imposing strict time limits on single mothers receiving welfare assistance.

Dean advocated sending nuclear waste from his state to the poor, mostly Hispanic town of Sierra Blanca, Texas. Wellstone called the proposal "blatant environmental injustice" and fought to delay the measure in the Senate. It ultimately passed but was later determined unsafe. Just last year, Dean proposed deep cuts in Medicaid, which were blocked in his own legislature. Now he calls Representative Dick Gephardt's healthcare proposal, which would roll back the Bush tax cuts in order to provide a tax credit for employers mandated to deliver health coverage to workers, "a pie-in-the-sky radical revamping of our healthcare system." Dean has said that a constitutional amendment to balance the budget "wouldn't be a bad thing" and that the way to balance the federal budget is "for Congress to cut Social Security, move the retirement age to 70 and cut defense, Medicare and veterans' pensions."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

In the name of fiscal conservatism, Dean's final-year Vermont budget also cut portions of the state's public education funding. Dean supports the death penalty and as governor was embraced by the NRA. Although he opposed the war on Iraq, his policy on the Middle East is closer, he says, to AIPAC—the American Israel Public Affairs Committee—than to progressives calling for Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories.

Dean is not without some redeeming policies—he deserves credit for signing the civil union law in Vermont, for example. But when held up to the progressive standards of a Paul Wellstone, his deeds are sorely lacking.

When I talk to my progressive friends about the Dean record, they often lament, "But that means there is no progressive in this race!" That may be true, although other candidates in deed if not in style have credentials to bring to the table. Carol Moseley-Braun was one of only eleven senators who voted no on welfare reform in 1996. Senator John Kerry was an organizer of Vietnam Veterans Against the War and stood up to what were to become his Senate colleagues and asked, "How can you ask a man to be the last one to die in Vietnam?" And when Kerry is not in a fracas with Dean, he aggressively advocates environmental justice and sound child-care policies (although he supported the 1996 Welfare Reform Act). Both Kerry and Gephardt have strong records of support for collective bargaining, labor organizing and a living wage. Gephardt has offered what is likely to be the first of several proposals on universal healthcare. And Senator John Edwards, despite his money, has as much claim to being a fresh face as Dean. Senator Bob Graham voted with Wellstone against the war on Iraq and Representative Dennis Kucinich, while a recent convert to a pro-choice position, is chair of the House Progressive Caucus.

Progressives must give each of the candidates a thorough look. None may be progressive in my or your terms, but let's be ready to get behind whoever wins the Democratic nomination, so we can send this hard-right Administration packing. And let's not let progressive style or language replace progressive substance simply because we no longer have a senator who is one of us.

Paul Wellstone closed his autobiography, *The Conscience of a Liberal*, with a quote from the famous abolitionist Wendell Phillips, who was once asked, "Wendell, why are you so on fire?" He responded, "I'm on fire because I have mountains of ice before me to melt." Since Wellstone's death, the mountains have grown. Let's direct our fire toward the ice and not let our desire for leaders with passion get in the way of the need to melt it. I do not yet support a candidate for President. In the end, I will choose one I believe will shine some light—and direct some fire—toward those mountains of ice we must melt. JIM FARRELL

Jim Farrell was the spokesman for the late Senator Paul Wellstone.

KATHA POLLITT HONORED

Congratulations to Katha Pollitt, winner of the National Magazine Award in the Columns and Commentary category. Katha also won the 1992 award in Essays & Criticism.

McCarthy's Secret Show

The other night I went to see *Trumbo*, an Off Broadway trial run of Christopher Trumbo's play based mostly on his father, Dalton Trumbo's, amazing letters about life under the Hollywood blacklist and other assaults on individual liberty in the name of national safety and security. The evening includes his famous dictum that those too young to remember the McCarthy era should not waste time searching for "villains or heroes or saints or devils because there were none; there were only victims." Survivors are still debating the moral implications of his generous injunction, but as it turns out, those too young to remember that dark time may have only too many opportunities to revisit it.

By coincidence, the showing of *Trumbo* (it plays only on Mondays) coincided with the release by the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs of five volumes of secret testimony from 160 closed hearings held during Senator Joseph McCarthy's redbaiting rampage through our democracy fifty years ago.

Press commentary has ranged over McCarthy and his chief counsel Roy Cohn's bullying tactics, the fact that while they turned up some Communist smallfry, nobody went to prison and gossipy tidbits about the people called, who ranged from the famous, such as Aaron Copland (not a Communist), Paul Robeson's wife (she denied any personal experience with Communism) and James Reston, Dashiell Hammett and Langston Hughes, to bit players like Annie Lee Moss, the State Department file clerk who didn't know who Karl Marx was. Also starring among the witnesses and attorneys were many old *Nation* friends (Corliss Lamont, Harvey O'Connor, James Weinstein, Leonard Boudin and his partner, Victor Rabinowitz).

The closed hearings, it turned out, were a sort of dress rehearsal for later public hearings—show trials. Many witnesses who held their own were never called. Trumbo notwithstanding, there are heroes and villains in these pages, especially Roy Cohn at his witness-badgering worst and Democratic senators like Stuart Symington and Henry "Scoop" Jackson in supporting roles, out-McCarthying McCarthy in their efforts to prove the un-Americanism of Fifth Amendment–invoking witnesses.

But what most of the commentators have missed—and the reason *Trumbo*, the five volumes of declassified testimony and the latest batch of political memoirs are relevant today—is the apparent failure of our political culture to grasp a distinction one would have thought was elementary, the core of our Constitution and its values, the first principle taught in Democracy 101, namely, the difference between dissent and disloyalty.

The inquisitorial committees of the 1950s were wrong not because they so often got the wrong guy but because they occasionally got the right one. The red hunt was misguided because the equation that came to define the McCarthy era (to be a liberal is to be a pinko is to be a red is to be a spy) was misguided. And it was misguided because, in the name of national security and national safety, it inhibited, marginalized, attacked and attempted to decimate dissent.

It should by now be an old story that in the name of counter-subversion, those who did their best (i.e., their worst) to put the al-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

leged subversives out of business did more damage to the Republic than the alleged subversives themselves. But today's counter-subversives, in the name of counterterrorism, scoop up suspected terrorists without due process, or any kind of process for that matter, and ship them to an island off the coast of Florida, where they are deprived of the right to counsel (although why would they need counsel if, under the Ashcroft doctrine, they are not entitled to a trial, fair or otherwise?). Preventive detention does not seem quite so bad when it is carried out in the shadow of a "preventive" war.

A few years ago, when the old Soviet archives opened up, and when the so-called Venona intercepts came on the market, a new breed of historian tried to argue that these fragments from our collective past show that McCarthy had been right after all. I have only dipped into the 4,232 pages of the behind-the-scenes McCarthy follies, but they seem to suggest—and all press and other reports thus far appear to confirm—that McCarthy was exactly what he appeared to be. Perhaps Christopher Trumbo will find a way to stage these hearings as his next project, since rehearsal for a stage play is what they were—a tale told by a charlatan, full of bluster, signifying nothing. VICTOR NAVASKY

Victor Navasky, The Nation*'s publisher and editorial director, is the author of* Naming Names *(Hill & Wang), which was recently reissued in paperback with a new afterword.*

SARS and Inequality

Over the past few months, yet another epidemic has come to trouble our unhappy world. Shortly after SARS was identified, the entire globe was put on notice. Although the new illness is not as deadly as many other infectious diseases (compare the 500 or so confirmed dead of SARS with the 8,500 who die each day of AIDS), it has sent ripples throughout the world economy. It's perhaps easier to notice from my HIV clinic in Haiti that SARS was so quickly seen as a crisis because it affects areas of high economic traffic, whereas AIDS and tuberculosis mostly affect populations deemed irrelevant to the global economy.

In 1946 the new constitution of the World Health Organization (WHO) warned that "unequal development in different countries in the promotion of health and control of disease, especially communicable disease, is a common danger." The world is now even more divided between medical haves and have-nots, and infectious pathogens still exploit these social inequalities. They are why we have not eradicated polio, measles or malaria; why AIDS is disappearing among American children even as it claims the lives of more and more children in Africa and Asia.

Inequity has already shaped SARS. The disease emerged at the border between a low-income area with rapidly privatizing health services (China) and a high-income area with good public health (Hong Kong). Weak surveillance systems—a symptom of declining public health infrastructures—make it impossible to know when SARS first emerged or how big a problem it is. Many sick with SARS were saved by intensive care delivered in excellent hospitals, while SARS patients without access to such care faced worse outcomes.

Some lessons may be drawn from SARS, even at this early stage. First, there is the question of resources. Our shock at SARS images—commuters in Asia wearing masks, empty airplanes and marketplaces—speaks volumes, for in parts of the world where tuberculosis, AIDS and malaria reap their grim harvest of 6 million lives a year (almost all preventable deaths) there are few if any trains, airplanes or masks, and markets have long been miserable. A colleague in China writes to say his own work on tuberculosis, a disease of far greater significance there, may be halted because "staff at all levels are moving toward the control and battle on SARS." Our zero-sum approach to infectious-disease control means that resources are drawn away from big killers that do not rock international markets or inconvenience tourist itineraries.

A second lesson: We permit the erosion of public health infrastructures at our peril. Across the globe, healthcare privatization is advanced by international agencies and governments far more powerful than the WHO. These changes, sometimes called "healthcare reform," usually involve cutbacks in healthcare for the poor and in the surveillance systems necessary to respond to new health threats. As China privatizes, it is seeing the erosion of its public health infrastructure, a trend that has already reached its nadir in much of Africa, where the situation is worse now than it was under colonial rule. Public health infrastructures must be preserved and rebuilt.

Third, disease surveillance and control must be as transnational as the epidemics themselves—not unilateral or bilateral. As SARS broke out, public-health specialists found themselves shouted down by mayors or ministers of trade and tourism, not only in authoritarian China but even in Canada. The WHO correctly and courageously issued travel advisories, despite being derided for triggering panic, fueling prejudices and damaging the global economy. The job of the WHO is to protect health rather than tourism or stock markets; thankfully, the international body proved itself able to resist national interests in its response.

(Continued on Page 24)

CALVIN TRILLIN

On the Revelation of William Bennett's Gambling Habit

Bill Bennett told a grateful nation,
"Be moral. Just resist temptation."
By windbag airing of this thesis,
Bill Bennett got as rich as Croesus.
His preaching sold in wholesale lots,
While he dropped millions at the slots.
But here's a thought to ease his pains:
He only lost ill-gotten gains.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JONATHAN SCHELL

A Nuclear Education

In this space last week, I commented that the choice for the United States in North Korea was probably between a catastrophic war and permitting North Korea to keep its nuclear program and its reported small nuclear arsenal, and I suggested that of the two alternatives the second, though itself highly undesirable, was the better. It was anything but obvious, however, that such a course would be adopted, much less that this would happen just one week later. Yet the retreat may in fact now be under way. According to the *New York Times*, the Bush Administration has given up its goal of preventing North Korea from acquiring nuclear weapons and instead will concentrate on stopping it from exporting nuclear materials to others. "The President said that the central worry is not what they've got, but where it goes," an Administration official told the paper. But since, as the *Times* points out in an accompanying editorial, this goal is as unlikely to be achieved as preventing the creation of the materials in the first place, it's hard to escape the conclusion that the new policy is anything more than a fig leaf designed to disguise the failure of the old policy. In effect, the Administration has decided that in the case of North Korea, at least, proliferation is better than war.

The reversal of policy is dramatic. Let us recall that in his State of the Union address in 2002, delivered four months after the attack of September 11, the President declared what in effect was an ultimatum to proliferators: "The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons." He placed three regimes in the "worst" category—Iraq, Iran and North Korea—and famously called them an axis of evil. His policy up-ended the precedents of half a century. Previously, the United States had pursued nonproliferation solely by diplomatic and political means. It had never attacked a nation to stop it from obtaining either nuclear weapons or any other weapon of mass destruction. Now the Bush Administration proposed to stop proliferation by force.

The United States has just forcibly removed the regime in Iraq in pursuit of the President's policy. The proclaimed goals of the war were two: to seize weapons of mass destruction allegedly possessed by that regime and to demonstrate to other countries what might happen to them if they seek weapons of mass destruction. Quite recently, the President stated that "any outlaw regime that has ties to terrorist groups, and seeks and possesses weapons of mass destruction, is a grave danger to the civilized world, and will be confronted." In the meantime, however, the North Korean regime has been learning an opposite lesson. It decided that the path to safety—the way to avoid "regime change" by the United States—was not to forgo nuclear weapons but to obtain them immediately in order to have, in its words, a "powerful deterrent." In making this decision, the North Korean government was not doing anything unusual. From the first days of the nuclear age down to the present, nuclear proliferation has been driven by the fear of nuclear attack by others. Even the United States, the world's first nuclear proliferator, built the bomb because it feared that Hitler would get one first. Later, the policy of preventing nuclear attack by threatening nuclear retaliation was formalized in the strategy of nuclear deterrence, which became an almost unchallengeable dogma during the cold war years.

But after September 11, Bush declared that deterrence was inadequate to our new post–cold war realities and that he stood ready to launch "pre-emptive" (actually preventive) war, as he has just done in Iraq. It has turned out, however, that the deterrence policies that were being dropped by the United States were at the same time being taken up by North Korea. Now the United States itself has been deterred by nuclear arms, and it is preventive war that has had to be dropped. The bomb, once the hallmark of a "superpower," has become an equalizer in the hands of small, poor nations.

The remaining "axis" country, Iran, seems to be seeking the same solution to its vulnerability in the face of the American threat. Although it forswears any intention of building nuclear arms, it has, like North Korea, announced that it possesses a uranium-enrichment program. It seems very unlikely that the United States will be able to practice violent "regime change" against Iran. The United States will have its hands more than full in the years to come trying to impose its will on the Iraqi people, who as yet show little sign of accepting American rule. Any attempt to attack and occupy Iran would be a further step into this quagmire.

In short, the Bush policy of stopping proliferation of weapons of mass destruction by force has failed. In Iraq, no weapons of mass destruction have been found, and with every day that passes it seems unlikely that any weapons significant enough to justify the war will be discovered. In North Korea, a vigorous nuclear program not only exists but evidently has proved unstoppable by military means. In Iran, a nuclear program is in full swing, and the prospects of preventing it by force seem nil. Not even full democratization of that country, should the people of Iran choose this path, will insure denuclearization. All factions in Iran are agreed that their country has the right to counter Israel's nuclear arsenal by building one of its own.

As welcome as is the Administration's apparent choice of proliferation over war, it leaves the United States without a nonproliferation policy. One must be found. Otherwise the emergence of North Korea, and probably of Iran, as nuclear powers will lead to still another round of proliferation in North Asia and the Middle East. The failure of the Bush policy offers some lessons. One is that nuclear possessors make bad enforcers of nonproliferation. Every possessor was in fact once a proliferator, and possession by one country has always in fact been the motor of proliferation by others. The process is not stopped but speeded up by a policy of forcible disarmament—"counterproliferation"—which places the United States in the hopeless position of defending a global double standard by force. Nuclear disarmament, like virtue, must begin at home.

Jonathan Schell is the author of the just-published The Unconquerable World: Power, Nonviolence, and the Will of the People *(Metropolitan).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ALEXANDER COCKBURN

The Trials of Ed Rosenthal

Come June 4, Ed Rosenthal will be back in US District Court in San Francisco, to hear what sentence Judge Charles Breyer has decided to impose. In January a California jury found him guilty of cultivating marijuana, of maintaining a place to cultivate marijuana and of conspiring with others to cultivate marijuana. He's in his late 50s now, and he's looking at the possibility of being hauled off to prison for the rest of his life.

Let's all hope it won't come to that, and that Breyer will stay his sentence, pending appeals that may end up in the US Supreme Court.

I wrote here in January about the Feds' persecution of Rosenthal. They went after him because he's a high-profile advocate of legalized marijuana, famous for his books and articles, not least in *High Times*. The charges seemed surreal. Under the terms of California's 1996 Compassionate Use Act, OK'ing the cultivation and use of medical marijuana, the City of Oakland designated Rosenthal the legal supplier of marijuana starts to those in chronic pain.

Back then, on the eve of the trial, Rosenthal told me, "This is a tipping-point case. If they put me behind bars they are going to start closing these clubs. The clubs will have no excuse. Everyone will have to plead out. It's really important that I win this case."

He will win in the end, but Rosenthal lost that round in US District Court. His trial was a grim farce. Breyer (brother of Supreme Court Justice Stephen) overruled every effort of Rosenthal's lawyers to introduce the fact that the man in the dock had been working under the aegis of the City of Oakland, abiding by the provisions of a state law approved by the voters of California.

Thus kept in the dark, and with the ground cut from under Rosenthal's defense, the jury found him guilty. Then they stepped out of the jury box and for the first time learned the actual circumstances and background of the charges. Within days, five of them mustered in front of the courthouse to apologize publicly to Rosenthal and to proclaim their shame and indignation that they had been dragooned into this parody of justice.

I was there, and it was a thrilling occasion. San Francisco DA Terence Hallinan and SF City Supervisors Tom Ammiano and Matt Gonzalez stepped to the microphone to applaud the penitent jurors for their stand, denounce the conviction and assert California's rights. Gonzalez, chairman of the Board of Supervisors, invoked the long tradition of jury nullification, which, had this jury known about it, would have enabled them to set aside Breyer's instructions, consult their consciences and find Rosenthal innocent.

The next round in the case concerned precisely this issue of whether a juror can discount a judge's instructions. In the wake of the verdict two jurors, Marney Craig and Pamela Klarkowski, disclosed to Rosenthal's lawyers that during the trial, outside the jury room, they had discussed at least twice the issue of disobeying Breyer's instructions. Craig said she had phoned an attorney friend, who told her forcefully and erroneously that she had to follow Breyer's instructions and would get into big trouble if she used her own judgment. Craig had then discussed this call with Klarkowski.

Rosenthal's lawyers went before Breyer again, arguing for a mistrial on the grounds of malfeasance by the two jurors. Though Craig took the Fifth, the facts weren't disputed. Breyer hasn't issued a ruling yet. On the face of it, you'd think it's open and shut. Aside from Breyer's outrageous restrictions, did Rosenthal get a fair trial if two jurors were secretly sitting on a piece of bad legal advice, to the effect that if they stepped outside the narrow lines drawn by Breyer they'd face serious sanctions?

But Breyer doesn't want to order a new trial, one in which the chances of a jury aware of the background of the case and also of the possibility of nullification would be far higher. If he rejects the defense's motion for retrial, it will be one more ground for appeal, along with the basic issue of the contradiction between state and federal laws, already being considered by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Last September the DEA raided a marijuana club in Santa Cruz, arousing enormous rage, not least among Santa Cruz's City Council, which has now filed suit in federal court demanding damages as well as an injunction to prevent the DEA from infringing on state affairs again. In February the Feds raided a hundred homes across the United States, seizing glass bongs and kindred materials. They made more than fifty arrests, even though they found no drugs and even though, in California and other states, possession of marijuana pipes has been decriminalized.

So, just as Rosenthal predicted to me, the Feds took the guilty verdict as a green light. Across California people acting within the terms of the 1996 California statute have every reason to fear that the DEA will come crashing through the door and that federal judges like Breyer will back up their right to do so. Down in Los Angeles people involved in medical marijuana activities have pleaded guilty, not prepared to risk the possible twenty-year sentence that Rosenthal is staring at.

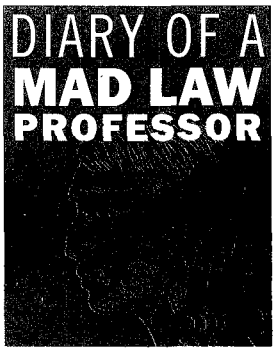
The only silver lining thus far, aside from the edifying stance of principle taken by Ed Rosenthal, is that the issue of jury discretion, or jury nullification, is on the front burner again. In the days after Rosenthal's conviction about half of his jurors began to proclaim publicly their disillusionment with the justice system as disposed by Judge Breyer. You could hear intense seminars on jury nullification on at least one of San Francisco's biggest AM stations.

Hey, nullification worked for John Peter Zenger and for those nineteenth-century folk charged with sheltering runaway slaves. As antislavery sentiment grew, juries wouldn't convict them. You've been called to serve on a jury? I strongly recommend that you take the time to study a useful little guide drawn up by Clay Conrad, chairman of the Fully Informed Jury Association. You can find it at www.counterpunch.org/conrad02052003.html. Money to help with Ed Rosenthal's defense should go to www.green-aid.com. And yes, this is a Republican Administration rhetorically committed to states' rights. Bush himself made a campaign issue of it. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS

The Disquieted American



Recently Congress released transcripts of secret testimony of witnesses summoned before Senator Joseph McCarthy's infamous subcommittee in hearings that impugned the patriotism of everyone from artists to decorated generals.

It is good timing to look at these transcripts anew just now, at a time when the fear being exploited has shifted from "Communist" to "terrorist"; from un-American to anti-American; from "blacklisted" to "profiled"; from "the Soviet bloc" to the far broader swath of the world community dismissed under the rubric of the "United Nations blockade." This is a time, after all, when that warrior princess of the right, Ann Coulter, has embraced McCarthy as not such a bad fellow; a time when "the culture wars" and "the war on terror" seem to have bled together in an unholy marriage of secrecy and suspicion.

The major difference, I think, between the 1950s and today is that our current indictments are accomplished by more sophisticated, faceless and privatized means. There is no central committee with a clearly identifiable zealot at the helm, Karl Rove notwithstanding. There is instead a highly organized network of think tanks whose decisions about what represents a danger to corporate interests (DBA Western Values) seem increasingly to rule us all. Eric Alterman has written about the efficiency with which their opinions are published first in their own in-house organs—for example the Manhattan Institute's *City Journal*—then on to the *Wall Street Journal*'s op-ed page, *The Weekly Standard* and *National Review*, then reiterated in a nationwide network of privately subsidized conservative student newspapers, talk-radio and the Fox network. Next thing you know, it's "fact": CNN is struggling to keep up with the invective, the *New York Times* is "commenting" on the trend and Random House is launching a new line of conservative books with Ann Coulter as launchee.

With such private but monopolized power dictating the public record, there is no need for official censure. Only *retired* four-star generals, reborn as media consultants for hire, reshape the First Amendment in the hearts and minds of much of the country: *We are not civilians but soldiers all. We are not at home watching this from the Barcalounger but actually on the frontline. We are not the President's constituents; he is our Commander in Chief.* Once so romantically figured, there is no room for political dissent because, after all, when a soldier speaks back to our flak-jacketed Commander in Chief, it is insubordination.

In this world of stifled debate, the government doesn't have to pursue Janeane Garofalo or Sean Penn or Tim Robbins; they are simply shunned by private entities like the Baseball Hall of Fame—who are not censoring, heaven forbid, but only exercising their best business judgment. It will not matter that the Dixie Chicks play to full, cheering houses, while their current album soars to number one on the country and bluegrass charts—*The Daily Show*'s Mo Rocca on CNN, sounding a bit like the Iraqi information minister, will continue to call them the "Dixie whores" whose "hate speech" should consign them to "refuge" in Canada. Senator Olympia Snowe's Republican colleagues will not have to work publicly on her kneecaps when she questions the wisdom of George W. Bush's tax cuts. They can leave the dirty work to private groups like the Club for Growth, which purchased television ads accusing her of "standing in the way" and therefore being awfully like the French.

The present round of free-enterprise, media-driven McCarthyism began some years ago with attacks waged against civil rights organizations, feminists and too-liberal academics. For at least the past decade, beat-em-up political discourse has been mounting until this pervasively troubling moment when even the voices of true-blue Republicans like John McCain risk being drowned out. Here are a couple of thoughts based on my experience as a feminist, civil rights agitating, fringe-type academic: First, we should be careful not to fall for the silencing traps posed by what is in fact a small number on the very far right—the bullying, circular, rhetorical paradoxes that more or less say, "The First Amendment protects my using global media to tell you not to speak because you are not a patriot and thus do not deserve the protections of the First Amendment." On campuses a more direct and insidious extension of this logic is being played out as nativist students go up to schoolmates (particularly foreign-born ones) after heated classroom discussions and threaten, "I'm going to call the FBI on you."

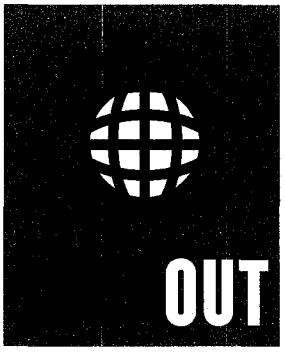
Second, it is important to remember that just because someone has the freedom to speak, the discussion does not have to end with that acknowledgment. Too often discussions go round and round about what to label speech—whether this or that is politically correct or incorrect speech or hate speech or protected speech—and never get to the underlying politics. An egregious example of that phenomenon occurred in 1992, when a few of the *Harvard Law Review*'s editors published a vicious and vulgar parody of the work of the tragically, and at that time recently, murdered law professor Mary Joe Frug. The editors, who took issue with the postmodernism of her writing, publicly mocked the "post-mortem" analysis of "Mary Doe, Rigor-Mortis Professor of Law." What I found remarkable was that the discussion of this incident, on campus and in newspapers, swirled mostly around whether the editors (who went on to employment as clerks of Supreme Court Justices and associates in powerful rainmaking firms), had the legal right to say it. Indeed they did. That said, the curious culture of sadism that produced it was scarcely addressed. In the 1950s people lost jobs, reputations and even lives. There is a terribly worrisome punitiveness about the way that attacks on very civil and principled opponents of the war, from Robert Byrd to Susan Sarandon, have been justified: *They have a right not to like the war, yessireee, but, hey, freedom of expression has "consequences...."*

Exactly how dire the "consequences" must be the subject of immediate, urgent and (what's left of our) public address. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NAOMI KLEIN

Elections vs. Democracy in Argentina



In most of the world, it's the sign for peace, but here in Argentina it means war. The index and middle finger, held to form a V, means to his followers, *Menem vuelve*, Menem will return. Carlos Menem, poster boy of Latin American neoliberalism, president for almost all of the 1990s, is looking to get his old job back on May 18.

Menem's campaign ads show menacing pictures of unemployed workers blockading roads, with a voiceover promising to bring order, even if it means calling in the military. This strategy gave him a slim lead in the first election round, though he will almost certainly lose the runoff to an obscure Peronist governor, Nestor Kirchner, considered the puppet of current president (and Menem's former vice president) Eduardo Duhalde.

On December 19 and 20, 2001, when Argentines poured into the streets banging pots and pans and telling their politicians, *que se vayan todos*, everyone must go, few would have predicted the current elections would come down to this: a choice between two symbols of the regime that bankrupted the country. Back then, Argentines could have been forgiven for believing that they were starting a democratic revolution, one that forced out President Fernando de la Rua and churned through three more presidents in twelve days.

The target of these mass demonstrations was the corruption of democracy itself, a system that had turned voting into a hollow ritual while the real power was outsourced to the International Monetary Fund, French water companies and Spanish telecoms—with local politicians taking their cut. Carlos Menem, though he had been out of office for two years, was the uprising's chief villain. Elected in 1989 on a populist platform, Menem did an about-face and gutted public spending, sold off the state and sent hundreds of thousands into unemployment.

When Argentines rejected those policies, it was hugely significant for the globalization movement. The events of December 2001 were seen in international activist circles as the first national revolt against neoliberalism, and "You are Enron, We are Argentina" was soon adopted as a chant outside trade summits.

Perhaps more important, the country seemed on the verge of answering the most persistent question posed to critics of both "free trade" and feeble representative democracies: "What is your alternative?" With all their institutions in crisis, hundreds of thousands of Argentines went back to democracy's first principles: Neighbors met on street corners and formed hundreds of popular assemblies. They created trading clubs, health clinics and community kitchens. Close to 200 abandoned factories were taken over by their workers and run as democratic cooperatives. Everywhere you looked, people were voting.

These movements, though small, were dreaming big: national constituent assemblies, participatory budgets, elections to renew every post in the country. And they had broad appeal. A March 2002 newspaper poll found that half of Buenos Aires residents believed that the neighborhood assemblies will "produce a new political leadership for the country."

One year later, the movements continue, but barely a trace is left of the wildly hopeful idea that they could someday run the country. Instead, the protagonists of the December revolts have been relegated to a "governability problem" to be debated by politicians and the IMF. So how did it happen? How did a movement that was building a whole new kind of democracy—direct, decentralized, accountable—give up the national stage to a pair of discredited has-beens? The marginalization process had three clear stages in Argentina, and each has plenty to teach activists hoping to turn protest into sustained political change.

Stage One: Annoy and Conquer. The first blow to the new movements came from the old left, as sectarian parties infiltrated the assemblies and tried to drive through their own dogmatic programs. Pretty soon you couldn't see the sun for the red and black party flags, and a process that drew its strength from the fact that it was normal—something your aunt or teacher participated in—turned into something marginal, not action but "activism." Thousands returned to their homes to escape the tedium.

Stage Two: Withdraw and Isolate. The second blow came in response. Rather than challenge sectarian efforts at co-optation head-on, many of the assemblies and unemployed unions turned inward and declared themselves "autonomous." While the parties' plans verged on scripture, some autonomists turned *not* having a plan into its own religion: So wary were they of co-optation any proposal to move from protest to policy was immediately suspect.

These groups continue to do remarkable neighborhood-based work, building bread ovens, paving roads and challenging their members to let go of their desire for saviors. Yet they have also become far less visible than they were a year ago, less able to offer the country a competing vision for its future.

Stage Three: Just Don't Do It. Argentina's screaming and pot banging went on, and on, and on. Just when everyone was hoarse and exhausted, the politicians emerged from hiding to call an election. Incredulous, the social movements made a decision not to participate in the electoral farce—to ignore the churnings of Congress and the IMF and build "counterpowers" instead.

Fair enough, but as the elections took on a life of their own, the unions and assemblies began to seem out of step. People weren't able to vote for the sentiment behind December 19 and 20, either by casting a ballot or by boycotting the election and demanding deeper democratic reforms, since no concrete platform or political structure emerged from those early, heady discussions. The legitimacy of the elections was thus left dangerously uncontested, and the dream of a new kind of democracy utterly unrepresented.

The campaign slogan that won the first round was the astonishingly vague "Menem knows what to do and he can do it." In other words, maybe Nike was right: People just want to do something, and if things are bad enough, they will settle for anything.

Politics hates a vacuum. If it isn't filled with hope, someone will fill it with fear. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES

WHY WE ARE INFIDELS

by E.L. DOCTOROW

We have lately been called infidels. Yet we are perhaps the most prayerful nation in the world. Both Tocqueville and Dickens when they came over here to have a look at us were astonished at how much God there was in American society. True, the infidel is not necessarily a nonbeliever; he may also be a believer of the wrong stripe. But I think, given the variety of religious practices in our country, including that of Islam, that the term infidel as it has lately been applied to us probably does not refer to any particular religion we may as a nation subscribe to but to the fact that we subscribe, within our population of 290 million, to all of them.

Of course most of our religions, including Christianity, Judaism, Islam and Buddhism, landed here at different times from other parts of the world. They have been vulnerable, as religions usually are, to such denominational fracture as to offer a potential parishioner a virtual supermarket of spiritual choice. Some of our religions—Mormonism, Christian Science, Native American Anthropomorphism—were invented, or revealed, right here. And if we think even casually of the parade of creative and influential religionists on our shores—from the colonists Anne Hutchinson and Roger Williams, Jonathan Edwards and Cotton Mather to our citizen evangelicals Aimee Semple McPherson, Billy Sunday, Father Divine and Billy Graham—we notice immediately that we have left out the Adventists, the Millerites, the Shakers, Swedenborgians and Perfectionists of the nineteenth century, to say nothing of the stadium-filling brides and grooms of the Reverend Moon's Unification Church, or the suicidal cultists of Jim Jones, or the unfortunate Branch Davidians of Waco, Texas, or the Heaven's Gate believers who castrated themselves and took their own lives in order to board the Hale-Bopp comet when it flew past in 1997.

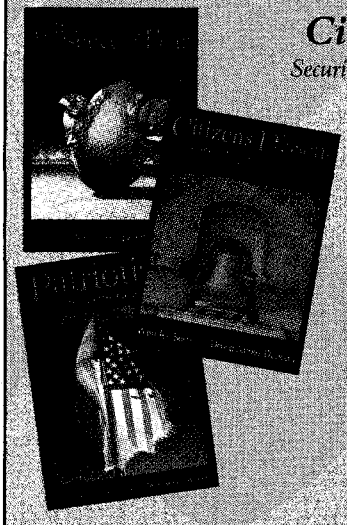
One of the less scintillating debates among theologians is on the distinction between a religion and a cult. But all together, our religions or religious cults testify to the deeply American thirst for celestial connection. We want a spiritual release from the society we have made out of secular humanism.

That our God-soaked country is, as political science, secular, may be indicated by the fact that the word for the state of being of an infidel, infidelity, brings to our minds not a violation of faith in the true God but a violation of the marriage contract between ordinary mortals. Philandering husbands and adulterous wives may be viewed as immoral and looked upon with contempt or pity, but they are not usually regarded as infidels. The term, however, may be justly applied to all of us, including the most

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this **American** land

The New Patriotism Series



Citizens Dissent:
Security, Morality, and Leadership in an Age of Terror

The latest volume in Orion's New Patriotism Series, featuring the unabridged version of Wendell Berry's remarkable *New York Times* statement, "A Citizen's Response to the National Security Strategy of the United States of America."

paperback, $8.00 each

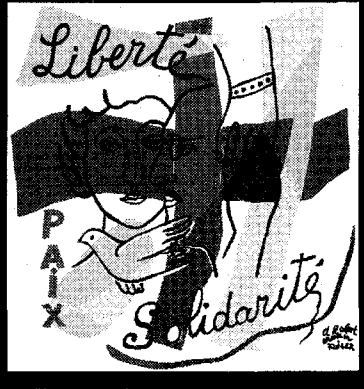
Available through independent booksellers and at www.oriononline.org, or call toll free 888-909-6568.

orion**online**.org

The Rosenberg Fund for Children presents

C E L E B R A T E

THE CHILDREN OF RESISTANCE



JUNE 19, 2003 · CITY CENTER, NEW YORK

A program to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the executions of Ethel & Julius Rosenberg and to celebrate today's families who fight for social justice.

Tickets available through the RFC at www.rfc.org or (413) 529-0063 or through the City Center Box Office at W. 55th St. btw 6th & 7th Ave.; online at www.citycenter.org or by calling CityTix® at 1-212-581-1212
(Toll-free outside NYC, NJ & CT 1-877-581-1212)

pious and monogamous among us, because of a major sin committed over 200 years ago, when religion and the American state were rent asunder and all worship was consigned to private life. It was Jefferson who said, "Our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than our opinions in physics or geometry." And while it is precisely because of this principle of religious freedom that we enjoy such a continual uproar of praying and singing and studying and fasting and confessing and atoning and praising and preaching and dancing and dunking and vowing and quaking and shaking and abstaining and ordaining, a paradox arises from this expression of our religious democracy: If you have extracted the basic ethics of religious invention and found the mechanism for installing them in the statutes of the secular civil order, as we have with our Constitution and our Bill of Rights, but have consigned all the doctrine and rite and ritual, all the symbols and traditional practices to the precincts of private life, you are saying there is no one proven path to salvation, there are only traditions. If you relegate the old stories to the personal choices of private worship, you admit the ineffable is ineffable, and in terms of a possible theological triumphalism, everything is up for grabs.

Our pluralism has to be a profound offense to the fundamentalist, who by definition is an absolutist intolerant of all forms of belief but his own, all stories but his own. In our raucous democracy, fundamentalist religious belief has organized itself with political acumen to promulgate law that would undermine just those secular humanist principles that encourage it to flourish in freedom. Of course there has rarely been a period in our history when God has not been called upon to march. The abolitionists decried slavery as a sin against God. The South claimed biblical authority for its slaveholding. The civil disobedience of Martin Luther King Jr.'s civil rights movement drew its strength from prayer and the examples of Christian fortitude, while the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacy groups invoked Jesus as a sponsor of their racism. But there is a crucial difference of emphasis between these traditional invocations and the politically astute and well-funded actions in recent years of the leaders of the movement known as the Christian Right, who do not even call upon their faith to certify their politics as much as they call for a country that certifies their faith.

Fundamentalism really cannot help itself—it is absolutist and can compromise with nothing, not even democracy. It is not surprising that immediately after the Islamic fundamentalist attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon two prominent Christian fundamentalists were reported to have accounted it a justifiable punishment by God for our secularism, our civil libertarianism, our feminists, our gay and lesbian citizens, our abortion providers and everything and everyone else that their fundamentalist belief condemns. In thus honoring the foreign killers of almost 3,000 Americans as agents of God's justice, they established their own consanguinity with the principle of righteous warfare in the name of all that is holy, and gave their pledge of allegiance to the theocratic ideal of government of whatever sacred text.

Not just on other shores are we considered a nation of infidels. ■

This essay is excerpted from E.L. Doctorow's new book, Reporting the Universe *(Harvard).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DEFYING US POLICY, THEY SAVE THE LIVES OF ILLEGAL MIGRANTS, A CUP OF WATER AT A TIME.

Samaritans in the Desert

BOB MOSER

On the first anniversary of 9/11, four men huddle on a busy street corner in Douglas, Arizona, clutching armfuls of homemade crosses and pretending not to notice the steady drizzle or the lightning strikes illuminating the nearby Mexican mountains. After a brief prayer for "our brothers and sisters who are so angry," the men begin to move up the puddled sidewalk. Every few feet, one of them holds a cross above his head and yells out the name of a victim over the sound of sloshing tires:

"Jesus Vidal Ramirez."

"Presente!" the other three answer.

"Maria Inez Gonzalez."

"Presente!"

"No Identificado."

"Presente!"

"Human Remains."

"Presente!"

STEPHEN SAVAGE

This vigil is not for the 2,800 killed in the worst act of terrorism on US soil. Every Tuesday night, rain or shine, this vigil honors victims of the deadliest ongoing human-rights violation on US soil. Since 1995 at least 2,250 migrants have died trying to cross the US-Mexico border. Most of these deaths have resulted from a Clinton-era "border control" strategy designed to shut down urban crossing points and force migrants to try their luck in harsher terrain—namely, the deadly green desert of southern Arizona.

Leaning each cross against the curb, the four men—volunteers with a humanitarian group optimistically named SNS Healing Our Borders—wend their soggy way toward the bustling border checkpoint that separates Douglas from its Mexican sister city, Agua Prieta. Finally, about twenty-five feet short of the checkpoint, all the crosses have been laid out. Father Bob Carney, his weatherbeaten face dripping with rain, turns east, west, north and south, blessing the dead: "Jesu Christo, Jesu Christo, Jesu Christo, Jesu Christo."

Just then, one of the Border Patrol's white ATVs comes flashing up to the checkpoint. Several women, one of them cradling a baby, step tentatively out the back hatch. The women have been arrested by Border Patrol agents and have chosen "VR," or voluntary return, rather than contest their deportation. "They just want to get back across and get some jack together and try again," says Tommy Bassett, his ruddy face solemn inside a parka hood. "Almost everybody makes it eventually." He peers down the line of crosses and repeats himself: "Almost."

While the men break into a Spanish-language version of "We Shall Overcome," Bassett gazes out over one of the many walls built in recent years by the Border Patrol. It sits next to a trench originally dug to keep Pancho Villa's army from invading. Hundreds of white dots have begun to light up the gloaming, stretching out in a ragged line across the desert as far as the eye can see. "Infrastructure," Bassett says. A few hundred yards away, a white ATV stops and idles. "People have been known to come up this ditch, so there he'll sit all night. Has to be a boring job."

As we talk, hundreds of migrants are preparing to strike out into the storm. They'll troop through forty to sixty miles of desert, three to five days of scorching heat and nights of erratic rains and chill. Most will make it. Many will be arrested. A smaller number will die, most likely of dehydration or exposure. Their bodies might be found, dried out like raisins. Or they might end up as nothing more than bones, picked clean by coyotes and buzzards and marked as "Human Remains" on a homemade cross.

The bodies began to pile up in the mid- to late 1990s, after President Clinton sniffed political advantage in making "border control" a priority for the first time in US history. Clinton's people knew he couldn't win re-election without California, where anti-immigrant fever was spiking. With California Governor Pete Wilson, seen as a potentially menacing foe in '96, already playing to anti-immigrant sentiments, Clinton proposed the hiring of 600 new Border Patrol agents in 1993. A year later, the Administration rolled out a multibillion-dollar border strategy that commenced, naturally enough, with Operation Gatekeeper in Southern California.

The Southwest Border Strategy was cooked up by Silvestre Reyes, now a congressman, then the Border Patrol sector chief in El Paso. Called "prevention through deterrence," the idea was to put up enough walls, buy enough high-tech gadgets and hire enough Border Patrol agents to seal off urban crossing points like San Diego and El Paso. That way, the migrants would have no choice but to try getting in through the badlands of Arizona. That would deter them, right?

Wrong. As noted in a slashing 2001 report by the General Accounting Office, there is no evidence that overall border traffic has been slowed one bit by the more than doubling of Border Patrol agents (to more than 9,500 this year) and the quadrupling of the INS budget (to $6.3 billion). The "primary discernible effect" of the billions spent on border control, the GAO reported, was "shifting of the illegal alien traffic"—mostly into Arizona.

By 1998 the Tucson border sector—281 miles of desert—had supplanted San Diego's as the most popular place to cross. By 2000 Border Patrol agents were apprehending more than 600,000 migrants here, though "they catch one in five if they're lucky," according to former sector chief Ron Sanders. By 2002, the

Bob Moser is senior writer for the Intelligence Report, *an investigative quarterly published by the Southern Poverty Law Center.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tucson sector's death toll had soared to at least 163. "By every measure," says Sanders, who retired in 1999, "the strategy is a failure. All it's accomplished is killing people." But high-level officials have consistently hailed border control as a smashing success. "In the past seven years," then-INS Commissioner Doris Meissner told Congress in 2000, "INS has achieved more in the area of border enforcement than had been achieved in decades."

They're right in one way, says Claudia Smith, who heads the border project of the California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation. "As a political strategy, it's been a huge success. By and large, border crossings are now out of the public eye." But, says Smith, "the strategy is a human rights failure. If you want to control your border, you have that right. What you do not have the right to do is design a strategy that maximizes the risk to life. US policy is funneling migrants to their deaths."

Wayne Cornelius, the nation's foremost academic expert on Mexican immigration, told the Civil Rights Commission in November that the Southwest Border Strategy is "the most obvious, the most acute, and the most systematic violation of human rights occurring on US soil today." Only one border in the world is more perilous; between 600 and 1,000 migrants wash up annually after trying to cross the Strait of Gibraltar into Spain. "But the US-Mexico border," Cornelius says, "is clearly the most dangerous land border anywhere in the world."

Activist Claudia Smith rates the border control plan a huge political success. But, she says, 'US policy is funneling migrants to their deaths.'

Like millions of Latin American migrants, Luis, who crossed through the Arizona desert in 1999, can testify to the human realities US border policy has steadfastly ignored. "One week you are with your family, eating dinner and talking," he says, "and the next you are in the middle of a place you couldn't even imagine before. It's a place that is trying to kill you."

In 1999, at 21, Luis (who asked that his real name not be used, lest *la migra* come calling) decided to leave his foundering farm village in central Mexico. "First of all, because of the economy. In the fields where I was working, you can work every day and maybe have enough to live—but alone. If I get married, I cannot have enough for a family." His chance came when a neighborhood pal went to town one day and met a recruiter "who seemed pretty nice, but told us a bunch of lies. He told us his son had work picking tomatoes in Florida. He said, 'It's going to be great. It's next to the beach. You're going to earn $70 a day.' They don't say you have to risk your life. That's the tricky part."

The rise of organized people-smuggling has been another unintended consequence of the Southwest Border Strategy. When migrants could cross into San Diego or Douglas or El Paso, most could manage without help. Now the majority pay between $1,500 and $2,000 to be led through the desert by guides employed by professional smuggling rings. In 1995 a presidential working group on migration saw this coming, reporting that with new border-control measures in place, "we can expect...hard-core criminal groups to become involved in this extremely lucrative trade." Since then, the smuggling trade has played a handy role in the Border Patrol's public-relations efforts, becoming a convenient villain to blame for the spiraling death rate. Asked why so many migrants were dying, agent Ryan Scudder knows precisely how to respond: "The smugglers have chosen to take migrants into harsher terrain," he says.

Luis's guide led a group of nine up the side of the Baboquivari Mountains, which meander toward Tucson. "You are in the middle of nowhere, with no water, with this person you just have to follow. You cannot go back, because you will get lost and die. You have to keep going, keep going, keep going." His group kept going for five days. "We walked during the night, all night long and it was pretty cold. During the day, the heat didn't let us sleep." By the fifth day, despite their careful rationing, "we only had a cup of water left. Only enough to wet our lips, not drink. I was having visions."

Just in time, Luis's group arrived at its destination: a junkyard in Marana, just northwest of Tucson. From here, the guide was to drive them to the tomato vines and sunny beaches of Florida. But another group of migrants had already arrived, with cash in hand, and the guide abandoned Luis and company on the spot. "He said, 'We don't need them anymore. They can go back, they can find a *migra* officer, or they can go to hell.'"

After hanging around the junkyard for fifteen days, waiting for another smuggler who might take them somewhere, Luis and his friends finally hitched a ride to Florida, promising to pick tomatoes until they'd each paid the smuggler $900. Now Luis picks blueberries in Immokalee and sends money home to his mother. He doesn't dare go back to see her, because he would have to return through the desert—which brings yet another nasty upshot of the Southwest Border Strategy: According to two recent studies, illegal aliens are now staying longer in the United States because they can't come and go. Far from cutting down on the number of undocumented immigrants, border control has helped make the number larger.

In the four years since Luis came across, the crossing has only gotten deadlier. With approximately 1,700 Border Patrol agents now stationed in Southeast Arizona's border towns, the "death funnel" has crept westward, over the Baboquivaris and onto the Tohono O'odham Reservation and—worst of all—the Cabeza Prieta National Wildlife Refuge. In these lonely, weather-pummeled plains, temperatures routinely hit triple digits during the day, while nighttime monsoons send the mercury plunging. Drinking water is practically nonexistent.

Claudia Smith calls the Cabeza "a human-rights no man's land. There's nothing out there. Nothing. So the deaths happen out of sight, even more than they used to." In June 2001, after fourteen corpses were found in the Cabeza, US and Mexican officials announced an array of new rescue measures. David Aguilar, the Tucson sector chief, promised to step up efforts to "respond to needs of people traversing the border." One year later, in a four-day stretch of June 2002, sixteen corpses were found in the Tucson sector. In all, seventy migrants perished in that one sweltering month, nearly equaling the entire 2001 death toll. Despite the Border Patrol's promises, the number of migrants rescued in the sector has actually plunged—from 1,349 in 2000 to 501 in 2002. According to a study done by the *Arizona Daily Star*, border-crossers are now fourteen times more likely to die than in 1998.

Ron Sanders, the former sector chief, says the reason is simple:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Experience the fascinating evolution of science and technology with a dynamic college professor in this outstanding 36-lecture series

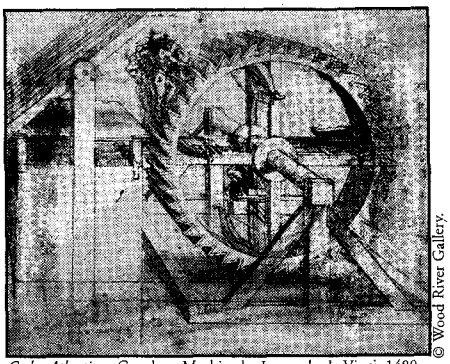
With particle physics, nuclear reactors, and cloning topics of today's headlines, it is easy to forget that science has had a long, rich history. Yet our commitment to science and technology is so profound it is perhaps the most powerful influence on human culture.

But how did Newton and Galileo lead to Einstein? How did algebra and the calendar get invented; roads, aqueducts, and obelisks get built? Who decided the earth was round or created orbital mechanics?

Science tells a story, and **The History of Science: Antiquity to 1700**—*on sale now for up to 70% off for a limited time*—is your chance to follow the progress of scientific thought and activity over nearly four millennia with one of the premiere—and most dynamic—college professors in the country. With him, you will discover a fresh, enjoyable understanding of science's evolution.

For example, the art and artifacts of the Islamic culture have been in the news recently, but did you know that the Arab-speaking world has been a major factor in the development and preservation of scientific learning, including algebra, chemistry, and astronomy? And did you know that priceless artifacts and texts were also lost when Baghdad was sacked by the Mongols in 1258 after being considered the capital of the intellectual world for 500 years?

Your 36-lecture recorded course comes in your choice of formats and includes printed lecture outlines. Don't miss this chance to learn about science's amazing history and impact with this outstanding teacher.



Codex Atlanticus, Crossbow Machine by Leonardo da Vinci, 1480-82, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan.

Get the Best in Teaching—Guaranteed!

With this as with all of The Great Courses, you get guaranteed teaching excellence. The Teaching Company scours America from coast to coast searching for the best college lecturers, who can be identified most surely by teaching awards and consistently outstanding marks on independent student evaluations.

Lecture Titles

1: Beginning the Journey
2: Babylonians, Egyptians, and Greeks
3: The Presocratics
4: Plato and the Pythagoreans
5: Plato's Cosmos
6: Aristotle's View of the Natural World
7: Aristotelian Cosmology and Physics
8: Hellenistic Natural Philosophy
9: Greek Astronomy from Euroxus to Ptolemy
10: The Roman Contributions
11: Roman Versions of Greek Science and Education
12: The End of the Classical World
13: Early Christianity and Science
14: The Rise of Islam and Islamic Science
15: Islamic Astronomy, Mathematics, and Optics
16: Alchemy, Medicine, and Late Islamic Culture
17: The Latin West Reawakens
18: Natural Philosophy at School and University
19: Aristotle and Medieval Scholasticism
20: The Science of Creation
21: Science in the Orders
22: Medieval Latin Alchemy and Astrology
23: Medieval Physics and Earth Sciences
24: The Middle Ages and the Renaissance
25: Renaissance Natural Magic
26: Copernicus and Calendrical Reform
27: Renaissance Technology
28: Tycho, Kepler, and Galileo
29: The New Physics
30: Voyages of Discovery and Natural History
31: Mechanical Philosophy and Revived Atomism
32: Mechanism and Vitalism
33: Seventeenth-Century Chemistry
34: The Force of Isaac Newton
35: The Rise of Scientific Societies
36: How Science Develops

SAVE UP TO $275!
OFFER GOOD UNTIL JUNE 19, 2003

LIFETIME SATISFACTION GUARANTEE!

About Your Professor:

Lawrence M. Principe (Ph.D., Organic Chemistry, Indiana University; Ph.D., History of Science, Johns Hopkins University) is both Professor of the History of Science, Medicine and Technology and Professor of Chemistry at Johns Hopkins University. Recipient of the Carnegie Foundation's award as Maryland Professor of the Year, the Templeton Foundation's award for courses dealing with science and religion, and several teaching awards from Johns Hopkins, Professor Principe is a noted expert on the history of alchemy and chemistry.

Shop securely on-line at:
www.teach12.com/ntn

To order, mail coupon below or call our toll-free number: (Please refer to Priority Code 14141)

1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412) Fax: 703-378-3819

The Great Courses™
The Teaching Company®
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232

Priority Code 14141

Please send me **History of Science: Antiquity to 1700**, which consists of 36 half-hour lectures, with complete lecture outlines.

- ❑ **DVD $99.95** (reg. price $374.95) **SAVE $275!** plus $15 shipping, handling, and guarantee.
- ❑ **Videotape $79.95** (reg. price $299.95) **SAVE $220!** plus $15 shipping, handling, and guarantee.
- ❑ **Audio CD $69.95** (reg. price $269.95) **SAVE $200!** plus $15 shipping, handling, and guarantee.
- ❑ **Audiotape $49.95** (reg. price $199.95) **SAVE $150!** plus $10 shipping, handling, and guarantee.
- ❑ **Check or Money Order enclosed.**

**Additional international shipping charges may apply.*
***Virginia residents please add 4.5% sales tax.*

❑ **Charge my**

❑ VISA ❑ MasterCard ❑ Discover ❑ American Express

Account Number _____ Exp. Date _____

Signature _____

Name (please print) _____

Mailing Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Phone *(If we have questions regarding your order)* _____

❑ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

Offer Good Through: June 19, 2003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"They don't patrol out there." He is astonished that the deaths haven't caused the Southwest Border Strategy to be widely questioned. "It's a scam that's being pulled on the American public," he says. "You're catching the same number you were before you started spending all these billions"—1.25 million were apprehended in 1992, 1.38 million in 2001—"and you're killing people. If you had airplanes crashing in this country with the same numbers, you'd have everybody after the FAA. But since these people are Mexicans, no one seems to care. Somebody ought to be looking at them and saying, 'Why aren't you saving these lives?'"

For a brief time after the second President Bush came to power, it looked like hard questions were finally being asked. "There was a growing acknowledgment on both the US and Mexican sides that the policy was not sustainable," says Peter Andreas, author of *Border Games*, an incisive study of US border politics. "It had become more of a shock and embarrassment." When Mexican President Vicente Fox came to Washington in early September 2001, he hoped to bolster support for ambitious amnesty and guestworker programs he'd been negotiating with Bush.

'Churches have got to protect human rights and human life when government threatens them.' —*Rev. John Fife*

Then came 9/11, which resurrected the anti-immigration movement and deflected Bush's attention. "If anything, 9/11 gave the Bush Administration a convenient excuse to put the migrant issue on the back burner," Andreas says. "Mexico still wants reform, but Mexico went from being the President's number-one priority to being tier two, or tier three." Last October, after a cursory half-hour meeting with Fox, Bush spoke of their "mutual desire to deal with the migration issue in a way that recognizes reality and in a way that treats Mexican citizens who are in the United States with respect." A few months later, Mexico's new foreign secretary grimly acknowledged what Bush's "reality" means: A major migration accord, said Luis Ernesto Derbez, will probably not happen "in twenty-five or thirty years."

No wonder humanitarians are bracing for the worst. The busiest crossing season begins in May and spikes in June, as desert temperatures shoot up to triple figures. With the Mexican economy far deeper in the dumps than that of the United States, some are grimly predicting a record year—of both crossings and deaths. Says Isabel Garcia, a Tucson attorney who works with the migrant-rights group Derechos Humanos: "We shudder to think about this summer."

On a sticky Friday afternoon toward the end of last summer, scores of migrants are trying to snatch some sleep under the skeletal cover of mesquite trees. Others are pressing on through the heat of the day. If they get into trouble, their only hope might be the blue Subaru wagon that's bumping its way south from Tucson, down gravel back roads and dusty, ancient migration trails. Phyllis Kelly, a retired school counselor, is at the wheel. The back of her wagon is loaded down with water, electrolytes and cola. The side doors sport red signs that say "Samaritan Patrol," with a white drop of water dripping down toward the Spanish translation. In the passenger seat is the toughest humanitarian on the border, the Rev. John Fife.

Fife, a leather-faced man who smokes unfiltered Lucky Strikes and swears like a sailor, has pastored Tucson's Southside Presbyterian Church, located in "the worst barrio in Tucson," for thirty-three years. He's spent much of that time inspiring his congregation to "push the envelope for human rights"—which meant, among other things, co-founding the sanctuary movement during the 1980s, when the United States was denying asylum to political refugees from Latin America.

In a time when the term "Christian activism" has become synonymous with right-wing social politics, Fife is living proof that the other kind of Christian activism—the kind that fueled the civil rights and sanctuary movements—still has some kick left in it. "I was in seminary from 1962 to '67," he says, "and back then it seemed pretty damn obvious that you couldn't study divinity without practicing it." That didn't mean cleaning up his language or his lungs; it meant heading south to the frontlines of the civil rights battle, and learning how to use the Church as a weapon for equal justice. Fife is not given to philosophizing, but he knows exactly where he stands: "Churches have got to protect human rights and human life when government threatens them."

So when hundreds started to die in Southside's backyard as a result of government policy, Fife says, "We had to respond. Hell, somebody had to." In 2000, Southside and other Tucson congregations created Humane Borders, which now has more than 2,000 volunteers tending thirty-eight water stations along popular crossing routes in Arizona. Unfortunately, some private ranchers have declined to allow Humane Borders stations on their land. So has the state of Arizona. So has the Tohono O'odham Reservation, where an estimated 50,000 migrants crossed every month in 2002.

Fife understands the resistance—to a point. "Those folks are victimized by the Border Patrol strategy too," he says. "Their fences are being cut, their trucks are being stolen, their houses are being broken into, their land is being trashed. We try to help people understand that the source of the problem ain't the migrants. It's the Border Patrol strategy, and until that changes, everybody's lives are gonna be hell. But they figure giving them water is just encouraging more people to come."

The resistance gave birth, last summer, to Samaritan Patrol. "We said, if we can't put water out there we can put four-wheel drives out there." Samaritan Patrol, which has since simplified its name to Samaritans, adopted a policy that makes it the most direct challenge yet to US border policy. When its 150 volunteers find migrants in distress, they can flout the law by transporting them to a hospital, or back to Southside. "After they've recovered, if they want to go back to Mexico, we'll call the Border Patrol," Fife says. "If not, they're free to walk."

As soon as Samaritan patrols began last July, the right-wing group Arizonans for Immigration Control filed a complaint with the Border Patrol over this alleged abetting of illegal immigration. Fife met with Border Patrol officials soon afterward. "They weren't happy about our protocol," he tells me as we drive down the migration trails, "but because of their public-relations problem with all the deaths, they didn't dare take us on. Our feeling is there's a higher standard to which we're all accountable, and just following orders is not an excuse when a government violates

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

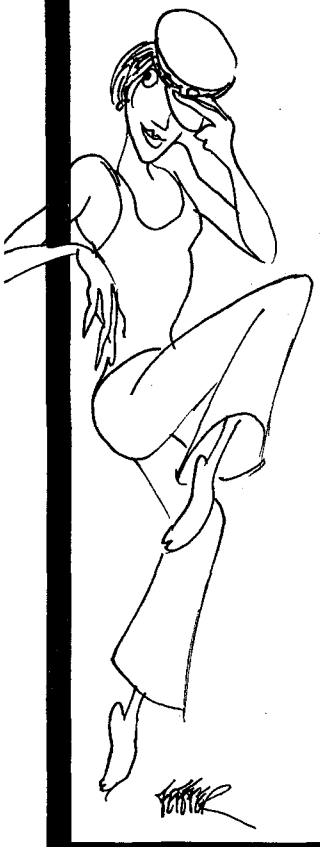
The Nation.

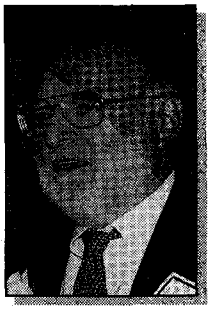
Western Caribbean Cruise!

December 6-13

Victor Navasky and* The Nation *invite you to join our SIXTH ANNUAL SEMINAR CRUISE.

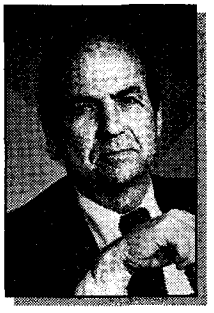
More Speakers to be announced!





Victor Navasky
Publisher and Editorial Director, *The Nation*

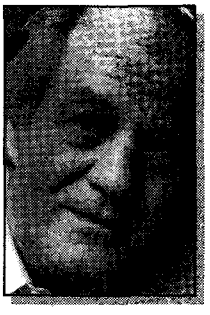
Katrina vanden Heuvel
Editor, *The Nation*



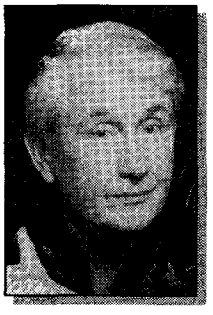
Calvin Trillin
Bestselling Author and *The Nation*'s "Deadline Poet"

Katha Pollitt
"Subject to Debate" Columnist

Eric Alterman
"Stop the Presses" Columnist



Jonathan Schell
Author of *Fate of the Earth* and *Nation* Disarmament Correspondent



Frank McCourt
Pulitzer Prize winning Author of *Angela's Ashes* and *'Tis: A Memoir*

Patricia J. Williams
"Diary of a Mad Law Professor" Columnist

Amos Elon
Veteran Israeli Journalist, Historian and Author of *The Pity of It All*

Molly Ivins
Political Satirist and *Nation* Contributing Editor

Date	Day	Ports of Call	Arrive	Depart
Dec. 6	Sat	Tampa, Florida		5:00PM
Dec. 7	Sun	Key West, Florida	11:30AM	6:00PM
Dec. 8	Mon	Day at Sea		
Dec. 9	Tue	Belize Ciy, Belize	8:00AM	6:00PM
Dec. 10	Wed	Santo Tomas de Castilla, Guatemala	6:00AM	6:00PM
Dec. 11	Thu	Cozumel, Mexico	1:00PM	11:30PM
Dec. 12	Fri	Day at Sea		
Dec. 13	Sat	Tampa, Florida	8:00AM	

Holland America Line
A TRADITION OF EXCELLENCE®

THE CRUISE AUTHORITY®

1307 Powers Ferry Road
Marietta, GA 30067-5409
(770) 952-8300
(800) 707-1634
(770) 916-1425 Fax
e-mail: groups@tcacruise.com

Call Toll Free (888) 833-4339
or visit our website
WWW.NATIONCRUISE.COM
for The Nation Cruise Information Kit

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

human rights. Hey Phyllis, slow down a little. This is where folks can get in trouble. Wait, hold it right here."

Fife eases his long frame out of the Subaru and kneels, scanning a wash and lighting a Lucky. "Don't look up at normal height," he tells Kelly, who's in training today. "Look under the trees, on the ground. Unless they're really desperate and trying to flag somebody down, they'll be low. They'll follow the washes down."

After tracking a pair of tennis-shoe tracks to no avail, Fife wipes his brow and climbs back into the Subaru. "We're trying to find a way to distinguish ourselves from Border Patrol. Folks will hit the ground when they hear a vehicle coming. Still, we encounter people about half the time we're out here," he says. "The first guy I found was all by himself. Lost. Didn't have any water left, just some dirty water out of a *charca* (cattle pond). He'd come with three or four of his cousins, and Border Patrol had come along and they'd all scattered. He said, 'I thought I was dying for sure!' And he was. They get water out of the *charcas*, and there's cattle who've died in there, and they get diarrhea and that dehydrates you three times as fast. It's instant death.

"You find all kinds of patterns," Fife says, keeping an eye out the window as Kelly eases us along. "Some people lie down and put their IDs beside them so their families will know. Other folks will get delirious and start taking their clothes off. You find bodies out here just filled with choya cactus spines, from where they took off running. One guy hung himself up here a couple of weeks ago."

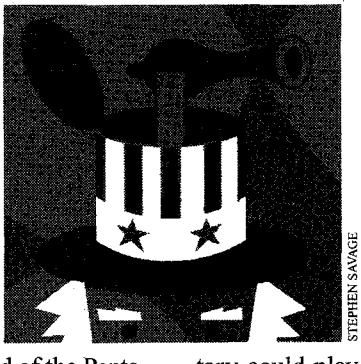
The Subaru falls silent for a few heavy moments, until I mention the Border Patrol's claim that smugglers have chosen to take migrants through dangerous territory. The Samaritans erupt in laughter. "That's a good one!" Kelly says. "Oh yes," Fife says, laughing so hard that his eyes tear up. "They do it for the scenery! They just love the way it looks out here, so they've decided to come this way. Jesus! Have these people got no shame at all?" ■

IN THE NAME OF FIGHTING TERRORISM, THE ARMY HAS ESTABLISHED A DOMESTIC COMMAND.

Bringing the War Home

ROBERT DREYFUSS

Just a year after the attacks of September 11, the Pentagon finally achieved a goal it had been seeking for years: the establishment of a military command for the domestic United States. The supposed rationale for creating the US Northern Command (Northcom, in Pentagon parlance) is primarily an antiterrorist one: to use the armed forces in response to a September 11–style or even more severe attack. "It's a recognition by the Department of Defense that the world has in fact changed," says Pete Verga, a retired US Army officer who served as the first head of the Pentagon's Homeland Security Task Force. "The idea that the homeland is not a combat zone turned out not to be true."



STEPHEN SAVAGE

In fact, Northcom is in some respects just an extension of a trend that has been going on for some time: the weakening of the 1878 Posse Comitatus Act, which prohibits the use of the military to enforce US laws. This trend accelerated with the passage of the Military Cooperation with Law Enforcement Official Act in the early 1980s, along with other laws assigning domestic tasks to the armed forces as part of the War on Drugs. Many Bush Administration officials were early Northcom supporters, among them Lewis Libby, a key player in Vice President Cheney's office who was a member of a working group that created a study called "Defending the U.S. Homeland," published by the Center for Strategic and International Studies in 1999. That study suggested that the Defense Department be given responsibility for domestic antiterrorism as well as "monitoring crossings of the US border" and "protecting the perimeter of key cities."

But where supporters see the establishment of Northcom as an important part of the "war on terror," the American Civil Liberties Union calls it dangerous. "It is a major departure from the tradition of keeping the military out of law enforcement that will reverberate for decades to come," says Timothy Edgar, legislative counsel for the ACLU's Washington office. And indeed, except for the most unlikely, extreme cases, it's difficult to envision a scenario in which the military could play an effective antiterrorist role within the United States. "Last Thanksgiving [2001], outside Miami International Airport, there were National Guardsmen in a tank, as if Al Qaeda was going to roll up in a military-style assault," scoffs Gene Healy of the libertarian Cato Institute, which has monitored the increasing involvement of the military in domestic law enforcement. "It does weird things to our political culture when we start getting used to armed troops on the streets, that we find that comforting," he says. "It makes the United States start looking like we're not a democracy."

At Northcom headquarters at Peterson Air Force Base in Colorado Springs, officials are busily getting things up to speed, with a first-year budget of $70 million. Its staff will soon have its full complement of 500. Agencies with permanent liaison personnel at Northcom include the FBI, CIA, the National Security Agency, the Defense Intelligence Agency and the National Imagery and Mapping Agency, which operates spy satellites. Northcom also has a Washington office, which provides liaison with the Justice Department and the Federal Emergency Management Agency. More than 200 people will be engaged in gathering domestic intelligence,

Robert Dreyfuss is a contributing editor of The Nation. *Research support was provided by the Investigative Fund of the Nation Institute.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

receiving information from local and state police as well as US intelligence agencies—reviving critics' memories of how Army intelligence units spied on civilians during the cold war.

The commander of the Northern Command is US Air Force four-star Gen. Ralph Eberhart. Tall, slender and silver-haired, with a chestful of medals, Eberhart looks like someone straight out of Central Casting. Last fall, he addressed a conference at the National Defense University in Washington, where he noted that before September 11 the idea of something like the Northern Command was a nonstarter. "It was too hard to get our minds around how to establish a regional command for North America," he said. Now that Northcom is up and running, Eberhart is resolute. "We will," he said, "do what's necessary to protect or to mitigate the situation, if something's gone down."

When I asked him about what kind of support his command could provide for US law enforcement, he cited recent experiences at the Super Bowl, the Olympics and air patrols over US cities, and he promised to try actively to engage the military in future events. "Day in and day out, we're going to be working with the [Department] of Homeland Security," he said. "If it's inside the United States, and we think we have capabilities that we think are applicable, then we will offer those." Making it clear that his unit is not just designed to bring in blankets, tents and medical supplies, he said that his command's engagement will depend on what he called "probability of kill," referring to the armed forces' ability to neutralize terrorists.

'We will do what's necessary to protect or to mitigate the situation, if something's gone down.' —*Gen. Ralph Eberhart*

Last year, near the height of the post–September 11 homeland security frenzy, armed National Guard units took up positions at border crossings in Maine, Vermont, New York, North Dakota, Minnesota and Montana, and uniformed (but unarmed) National Guard units stood watch at other spots along the borders with Mexico and Canada. Against the advice of the National Guard Bureau itself, state leaders and members of Congress, the Defense Department placed the troops under its command, making them part of the US armed forces rather than allowing them to serve in their usual role as state-controlled militia. "We're making a presence here," Jacob Pierce, a specialist in the Army National Guard serving in Sandy Bay Township, Maine, told the Associated Press. "People look a little more intimidated when they see me."

Also last year, during the 2002 Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City, nearly 5,000 soldiers—including 3,100 from the Guard and 1,800 members of the regular armed forces—surrounded the arenas, flew air patrols above the city and deployed high-tech surveillance equipment. At the time, 4,000 US soldiers were occupying Afghanistan after ousting its Taliban regime, leading Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld to tell war-whooping troops in Utah: "We have more people in Utah participating in this Joint Task Force–Olympics...than we do in Afghanistan." Besides the highly visible combat air patrols, flown round the clock out of nearby Hill Air Force Base, the Pentagon put armored vehicles, snipers, military police and antiterrorism specialists on the ground, and a dozen Black Hawk helicopters in the air. "We had everything from Marines on hilltops with radar units to troops on the ground with magnetometers running security checkpoints," says a Defense Department official.

The Olympics, a high-profile public event, was blanketed with military protection because it was designated a "national security special event." But in fact, so riddled with loopholes is the Posse Comitatus tradition and law that the President can decide to deploy the armed forces and the National Guard on his own authority. "The consistent DoD view has been that the President has sufficient legal authority to use the military in the US when he determines that doing so is appropriate," says Pentagon spokesman Maj. Ted Wadsworth. That's exactly what happened after September 11, when troops took over airports and downtown intersections and flew combat air patrols over major US cities. Federalization of National Guard troops is not a new phenomenon (it was used sporadically in the civil rights era), but in the current climate it is something that could come to be regarded as routine. Pentagon officials cite the precedent of the 1992 uprising in Los Angeles after the not-guilty verdict in the trial of police officers charged with beating Rodney King. Then, nearly 10,000 members of the California National Guard were federalized on orders from President Bush, who sent an additional 4,000 Army soldiers and Marines to Los Angeles to serve as a virtual occupying army.

Verga, the former Homeland Security official, says that the Pentagon does not feel at all constrained with regard to deploying forces within the United States. "We've not come across situations where we're restricted by Posse Comitatus," he says, adding that the military's usefulness can come in many shapes and sizes. It could mean providing high-tech equipment, such as night-vision goggles, to the police, or it could mean providing local authorities with a helicopter. It could also mean simply providing additional manpower to local or state police. "Or," he says, "it could mean suppressing a riot, the kinds of things that happened in the 1960s or more recently in Los Angeles."

The specter of the military patrolling streets, making arrests and conducting house-to-house searches is exactly what civil libertarians fear. Edgar of the ACLU cites the case of José Padilla, an alleged would-be terrorist who is an American citizen, who was seized by the military and held incommunicado. "The notion that the US military could march into your home and cart you off to the brig is a frightening one," Edgar says. "Before the incarceration of Padilla, it was inconceivable." According to the ACLU, the Posse Comitatus law is so weakened now that there is very little to prevent the armed forces from carrying out arrests, setting up roadblocks and performing search-and-seizure sweeps. And the Pentagon agrees. "Whether military personnel will have the authority to detain individuals or be given arrest authority depends upon the specific facts of each case," says Wadsworth.

Still, both state officials and the Defense Department have often preferred, so far, to err on the side of caution. During the Olympics, Utah state officials fought to have the state's National Guard kept under state control. Bob Flowers, Utah's commissioner of public safety and thus responsible for the state's homeland security, who oversaw Olympic security, says that the Defense Department itself was reluctant to deploy the regular armed forces to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Utah, until prodded by the White House. The issue, he says, "goes to the essence of our Constitution." The National Governors Association agrees; reflecting widespread uneasiness among state officials over the federalization of the National Guard for border duty last year, it has issued a policy paper stating its preference that the Guard be kept under state control.

Some members of Congress also question whether the involvement of the military domestically may be going too far. "We're certainly concerned about keeping a clear line between military and civilian authority," says a key Senate staffer, who adds that both Republicans and Democrats were startled by the Pentagon's decision to deploy federalized National Guard forces along the borders. Later this year, Republican Senator John Warner of Virginia, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, plans to convene hearings to support his view that legislation may be needed to explicitly overrule the Posse Comitatus Act.

It's early in the governmentwide reorganization of homeland security, and the ultimate role of the US military is still in play. The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) is still taking shape, there's talk about the creation of a National Intelligence Agency and the whole alphabet soup of law enforcement and intelligence agencies is being stirred vigorously. How the domestic antiterrorism effort ultimately makes use of the armed forces, and Northcom's relationship to the FBI, the CIA and the DHS, is not yet determined. Liberals and libertarians alike can be expected to fiercely resist an expansion of the armed forces' role in domestic law enforcement, and—just as they resisted greater involvement in the war on drugs—the military brass hasn't shown much enthusiasm for a law enforcement role. But in the climate of fear that has gripped the country since September 2001, and particularly if (or when) there is another terrorist incident, the beachhead that American troops have set up domestically could easily become the base for a significant expansion of the military's role at home. ■

Letter From Silicon Valley

AIR MAIL
FIRST CLASS
SPECIAL DELIVERY

by Rebecca Vesely

Ellen Chase never thought her life would be like this at age 52. More than a year ago, her husband, Russ, was laid off from his job as a quality assurance engineer in San Jose, California. Then last August, she lost her job as a secretary for a fruit-labeling company that was relocating out of the area. They've both been looking for work ever since. Between paying monthly rent of $1,114 and shelling out nearly $600 a month for COBRA health insurance, the Chases are barely able to make ends meet. No other healthcare company will insure the couple because Russ, 57, had open-heart surgery—putting them in the dreaded category of "pre-existing condition." A few years ago, they brought in a combined annual income of $65,000 and were saving for retirement. Today, they live on unemployment benefits of less than $2,000 a month that will expire in May.

She describes herself as politically conservative, and yet Chase says that her plight has changed her views on issues like healthcare, workers' rights and government responsibility. She now believes that the United States needs "socialized medicine, like in England," and should offer more help to those who find themselves without a safety net. "I really feel that the government is not taking care of us," she says. "For people who have worked as long and as hard as we have, a married couple who pay their fair share of taxes, it's very upsetting."

In Silicon Valley, long synonymous with an entrepreneurial spirit, free-market capitalism and libertarianism, more and more workers are, like Chase, rethinking their political views. Not that people are trading in their computers for picket signs, but worker protection, universal healthcare, affordable housing and other traditionally liberal causes are gaining popularity. This shift became evident last November when California bucked a national voting trend that put control of both the US House and Senate into Republican hands. Despite Democratic Governor Gray Davis's low approval ratings, Californians elected Democrats to all eight of the top state positions for the first time since 1882. The California Congressional delegation is now overwhelmingly Democratic, and San Francisco Representative Nancy Pelosi reigns as House minority leader. Membership in the state Libertarian Party has dropped by about 5,500, from a high of nearly 95,000 in 2000, according to the party's website.

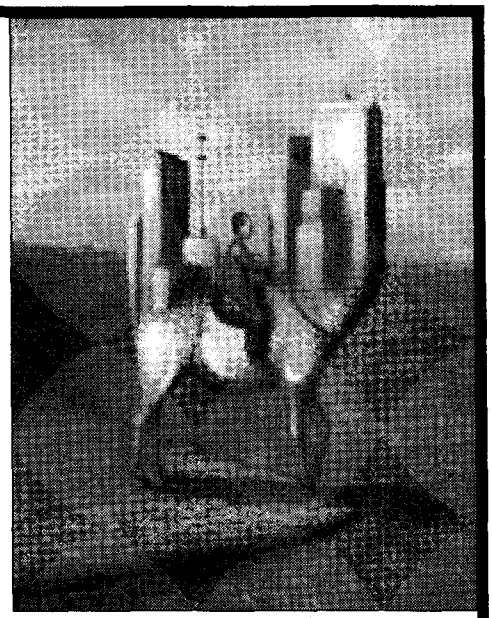
Peter Leyden, a former editor at *Wired* magazine and co-author of *The Long Boom*, once imagined twenty-five years of free-market prosperity where government played only a supporting role. Today Leyden says that a backlash against globalization and corporate irresponsibility, coupled with terrorism and a Republican agenda that doesn't support technological innovation like stem-cell research, are responsible for the shift in the laissez-faire Valley credo. "I really believe that we are entering an era where we will see a rebalancing toward more government and a conscious effort to force corporations to take more responsibility," says Leyden, now a "knowledge developer" at Global Business Network and co-author of a new book, *What's Next?*

The sustained recession in Silicon Valley has challenged many residents. For ten consecutive months through February, San Jose has reported the nation's highest unemployment rate for metro areas with populations of more than 1 million. The jobless rate for San Jose in February was 8.5 percent—compared with 5.8 percent nationally and 6.6 percent statewide. Santa Clara County, the heart of Silicon Valley, lost 85,000 jobs between

Rebecca Vesely is a healthcare reporter at the Oakland Tribune *and a former editor at* Business 2.0 *and* Wired News. *Her articles have appeared in* Wired, Mother Jones *and many other publications.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

War, Occupation and Domination Will *Not* Make us Safe



Alternative Paths to Peace
- for the United States
- for Israel and Palestine

Say "no" to AIPAC and the pro-Ariel Sharon lobby. Support the Resolution for Middle East Peace being introduced by Congressman Dennis Kucinich.

We need your help in creating an alternative to the post-war celebration of American military power and to the AIPAC/ pro-Ariel Sharon lobby that is currently seeking to undermine any Middle East peace process based on justice and security for *both* Israelis and Palestinians (which *must* include an end to the Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza). The Tikkun Community seeks a genuine reconciliation between Israelis and Palestinians which can only occur if the fundamental needs of both sides are met and if both sides adopt a spirit of generosity, repentance, and recognition of the humanity of the other. But the media will ignore this position unless we mobilize enough people to come to Washington, D.C. each year the way that the AIPAC/pro-Ariel Sharon lobby manages to do. This is our first such attempt and *your presence will make it work.*

The Tikkun Community Conference & Teach-In to Congress

June 1–4, Capitol Hill Hyatt, Washington, D.C.

Featuring: Rep. **Dennis Kucinich**, Rep. **Barbara Lee**, **Ziad Asali** (Chair, Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee), **Ralph Nader**, **Deepak Chopra**, **Marianne Williamson**, **Rabbi Michael Lerner**, **Cornel West**

Medea Benjamin, Neale Donald Walsch, Susannah Heschel, Rev. Bob Edgar (chair, National Council of Churches), Tom Andrews (Win Without War), Jessica Benjamin, Jim Wallis (Sojourners), Carolyn Forché, Yitzhak Frankenthal (Founder of Bereaved Parents circle), Rabbi Arthur Waskow, Jerome M. Segal, Mark Levine, Miriam Greenspan, Stephen Zunes

Absolutely can't come? 1. Download the *Resolution for Middle East Peace* from our website and get it endorsed by your local city council 2. Read Michael Lerner's new book *Healing Israel/Palestine* 3. Create a local Tikkun Community (or if you are on a college campus, a branch of the Tikkun Campus Network) and build support for our "progressive middle path" to peace 4. Send us a tax-deductible contribution to help offset the costs for those who want to come but can't afford to do so 5. Come to our TIKKUN Summer Institute, Aug. 13-17 at UC Santa Cruz.

More info: www.tikkun.org or magazine@tikkun.org or 510–644–1200.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NAFTA BENEFITS U.S. WORKERS.
FLORIDA'S BALLOTS WERE
COUNTED CORRECTLY.
A FAMILY OF FOUR CAN LIVE
ON $18,104 A YEAR.

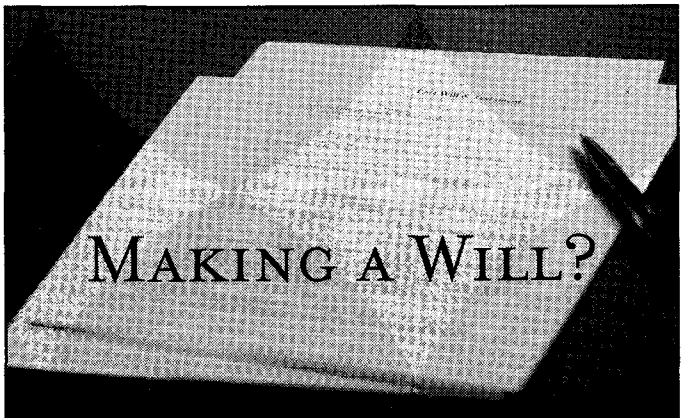
Don't believe everything you hear.

The federal government sets the poverty threshold at $18,104, but most Americans say a family can't get by on less than $35,000. That's why the Jewish Fund for Justice fights the injustice of poverty through support of grassroots organizing and advocacy by working poor people of all backgrounds. Believe us.

Donate to the Jewish Fund for Justice.

JEWISH FUND FOR JUSTICE
ZERO TOLERANCE FOR POVERTY.

260 Fifth Avenue, Suite 701 NY, NY 10001
212 213 2113 ext 46 www.jfjustice.org



It's important for you. And important for us that you consider making *The Nation* part of your legacy. By making a provision for *The Nation* now, you help ensure that both the principles we stand for, and the forum in which we fight for them, will be around for generations to come. Your legacy can take the form of a will, a trust, or various other means. It can go to *The Nation* or to *The Nation Institute*, a tax exempt charitable organization. And of course it can be – and will be appreciated – in whatever amount you can make it, large or small. It's spelled out in what we call our Legacy Group brochure. If you're at an estate-planning point in your life, or feel you'd like to know more about your options in general, call us for a copy.

THE NATION LEGACY GROUP
(212) 209-5428
The Nation. 33 IRVING PLACE, NEW YORK, NY 10003-2332

2000 and 2002. The office vacancy rate in the Valley is 24 percent, compared with less than 2 percent in early 2000. In a Field Poll released on April 28, 82 percent of Bay Area residents surveyed said that jobs were scarce. And a first-quarter consumer confidence study of Silicon Valley by the Survey and Policy Research Institute found that the proportion of people who say their families are worse off now than a year ago grew to 41 percent—about 10 percent more than last year.

This growing lack of confidence can be partly attributed to joblessness, but it also reflects a widespread sentiment that the good life is out of reach. Despite the large number of people who have lost their sources of income, Santa Clara County remains one of the most expensive places to live in the country, with a one-bedroom apartment renting for about $1,200 a month. Foreclosure proceedings in the county climbed 8.2 percent from the first quarter of 2002 to the first quarter of 2003, yet housing prices continued to rise. The median home price in the Bay Area last December was $416,000, up from $377,000 the previous December.

Business is booming among social services. The first statewide study of hunger, released by the University of California at Los Angeles last November, found that one in four low-income adults in Santa Clara County has trouble buying groceries. Just north of San Jose, in the affluent town of Sunnyvale, a nonprofit group called Sunnyvale Community Services gave out nearly $600,000 in the 2001–02 fiscal year to help people on a one-time basis pay their rent and electricity bills, an 88 percent increase over 1999–2000. Second Harvest Food Bank, which serves Silicon Valley, now feeds 167,200 people a month; one out of four has a college education. Jennifer Luciano, communications director for Second Harvest, says she is witnessing a rising level of anger among those in need and a greater willingness to talk publicly. "People are starting to feel that if speaking out will help educate public leaders about hunger and poverty and perhaps result in changes to the system, then they will talk," she says, "despite the dignity issue of coming forward."

People are also expressing their views through the ballot box. In the 2002 election, pro-labor candidates for San Jose City Council garnered 61 percent of the vote, moving an already moderate Democratic council farther to the left. The growing population of Latino and Asian immigrants is contributing to the rising support for such candidates, because of immigrant worker concerns about housing costs, wages and benefits. Santa Clara County has the highest number of immigrants in the Bay Area, according to US Census data. Some believe a wider workers' rights movement is brewing. "We are entering a more populist era," says Amy Dean, executive officer of the South Bay AFL-CIO Labor Council. "I've been in grassroots politics for twenty years, and what we are seeing today is not just that people want workers to have more power—in issues like a living wage, holding developers accountable and renters' rights—but we are seeing that people want unions to have more power."

A national survey conducted by Peter D. Hart Research Associates last August for the AFL-CIO suggests that union support is higher than at any time since the group began collecting data in 1984. Half of workers who don't already have a union say they would join one tomorrow if given the chance, compared with 42 percent in 2001, according to the report. Dean attributes this

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not just to the economic downturn but also to 9/11 and recent corporate scandals. "For the first time in decades, people are articulating positive views about the important role that government plays in their lives," she says. "They are yearning for protection from corporate interests and terrorism."

Those views are not confined to the working and middle class. "Companies today say, 'Let's hire people to meet investor needs, and then let's lay them off,'" says an unemployed telecom executive in Silicon Valley who once earned $160,000 a year. "I've never been a political person, but now I see that unions keep companies in line. We need unions to defend workers, because companies sure aren't thinking about them."

Pete Bennett, a 46-year-old former software developer, has launched his own workers' rights campaign. A father of two, Bennett says he folded his software development company in 2000 after being repeatedly underbid for contracts from companies in India. He looked for work at high-tech companies in the Valley, only to find, he says, that he was competing with Indian software developers here on H-1B visas, which allow employers to temporarily hire specialized foreign workers. "US citizens are getting a raw deal," Bennett says. "But the H-1B workers are also being victimized by corporations because they aren't getting a fair wage." Bennett contends that soaring unemployment rates in Silicon Valley and other high-tech corridors are a direct result of a lack of worker protection in the United States and companies moving their software operations offshore. "It's like we've created our own recession," he says. "The damage has been done."

During the dot-com boom, high-tech companies clamored for an expansion of the H-1B visa program. Congress complied, raising the ceiling from 95,000 in 1998 to the current 195,000. Now labor groups have stepped up their efforts to limit the program.

A Forrester Research report released in December projects that companies will move 3.3 million white-collar jobs and $136 billion in wages overseas in the next fifteen years, with technology companies leading the way. Silicon Valley companies like Oracle and Nortel Networks have already moved software development jobs to India and other countries to cut costs. Hewlett-Packard services chief Ann Livermore told Wall Street analysts in the fourth quarter of last year, "We're trying to move everything we can offshore." This strategy includes adding more workers to the several thousand the company already employs in India.

Not everyone agrees that foreign workers are the Valley's problem. John Aaron Atkins, who was laid off from his job doing software quality assurance at Nortel Networks in November 2001, points out that some H-1B workers have lost their jobs, too. "It's the boom-and-bust cycle of the Valley. If you're going to live here, you have to get used to it," he says. Peter Leyden of the Global Business Network argues that the exodus of jobs involving tasks that will become more automated over time will, in the long term, be better for California workers. These workers should instead be looking toward more creative and higher-paying jobs, like those in biotechnology, nanotechnology, wireless and sophisticated security industries, he says. "I hate to stand back and be a hardass about this because I know a lot of people are suffering right now," he says. "But I do think that things are picking up. Old Internet jobs are going offshore, but I don't think that will create a long-term vacuum here."

President Bush stopped by Santa Clara in early May to push his $550 million tax-cut plan and pledge to bring jobs to the embattled region. He said "I know there's people hurting here in Silicon Valley." But this doesn't help the many people like the Chases get through the meantime, when unemployment benefits are running out and no jobs are in sight. Ellen Chase has been repeatedly rejected for retail jobs at Target, Starbucks and Barnes & Noble. Her husband, Russ—near retirement age and with a bad back—is looking for work as a day laborer, hoping to make $8 an hour. After years of living firmly in the middle class, the Chases face an uncertain future. And yet, they say, what else can they do but wait for the upside? ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

litt have us return to the monolithic face protest wore decades ago, a face that, though white and male, claimed to represent all of us, erasing not just our identities but the complexities of our lives? The massive movement against the war on Iraq grew from an extensive coalition of countless organizations, including labor unions and environmental, Hispanic, Asian, African-American, gay and lesbian, and women's groups.

Code Pink (www.codepinkalert.org) has been especially effective in organizing women against the war, seeding new organizations, bringing various women's groups across the country into the large demonstrations and planning and inspiring countless creative events, including many acts of civil disobedience.

There are good reasons for women to be against war, as women. To cite just one, rape accompanies warfare. And the brutality and trauma soldiers suffer in battle are brought home, as the rate of rape and assaults against women, wife battery and the sexual abuse of children increase during and after a war. Code Pink has continually drawn a connection between the war on Iraq and worldwide problems, not only women's issues but also poverty, racism, environmental destruction and the growth of corporate power.

I agree with one of Pollitt's arguments, but she aims it at a straw women's group she creates. Code Pink does not argue that women are biologically determined to be less violent than men. But although regarding gender and war there may be no biological determinants, socially constructed differences are significant. As Pollitt mentions, without explaining why, there *is* a gender gap. Women have been raised to seek peaceful solutions to conflict and to find no humiliation in backing down or being flexible.

Pollitt implies that women "use" children as a pretext for protesting war. But when women speak about war endangering children, they do so to protect and speak for them, not use them. It is no accident that women like Jody Williams (who spoke at a Code Pink rally), famous for her campaigns against landmines, are so prominent in this regard. For many women worldwide, including this nation, caring for children is still a central part of our lives. The profound knowledge gained from this work shouldn't be dismissed. Whether they are mothers or sisters (or fathers) or teachers, years of nurturing children can lead to a profound understanding of what's needed to sustain human life and thus foster unique and different philosophies and visions.

Many women, and men too, say they're very moved by Code Pink events because, to paraphrase Gandhi, the rallies don't just advocate peace, they are living models of peace. Are men the problem? Not at all. Code Pink does not blame or exclude anyone; it invites us all to wear pink and in so doing to begin to embody a more peaceful way of living. SUSAN GRIFFIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

(Continued From Page 6)

Fourth, to encourage international agencies to issue advisories and declare emergencies, we must assure that resources, not rebukes, follow. Declaring an epidemic an emergency has often failed to produce rapid cash. The WHO declared tuberculosis and AIDS international emergencies more than a decade ago, but it took ten years and unremitting activism to develop novel funding mechanisms like the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. Creating such a fund was a major victory in the struggle for multilateral responses to health emergencies, yet the fund languishes as wealthy donor nations fail to contribute their part.

SARS reminds us that debates over unilateralism versus multilateralism, raised around Iraq, must be extended to international health. Adequate responses to the great plagues of our times—a dubious honor SARS has yet to earn—will not come from a coalition of the unwilling. If wealthy nations let the Global Fund and other multilateral efforts die on the vine, then one thing is sure: There will be a less coordinated response to the next SARS.

AIDS has already taught us about how quickly a new pathogen can spread across the world. SARS is another warning about the intimacy of our connections, even across deep divides of language, culture and class. William Budd, a doctor from Victorian England, writing of typhoid fever in 1874, put it this way: "The disease not seldom attacks the rich, but it thrives most among the poor. But by reason of our common humanity we are all, whether rich or poor, more nearly related here than we are apt to think. The members of the great human family are, in fact, bound together by a thousand secret ties, of whose existence the world in general little dreams. And he that was never yet connected with his poorer neighbour, by deeds of charity or love, may one day find, when it is too late, that he is connected with him by a bond which may bring them both, at once, to a common grave."

PAUL FARMER

Paul Farmer, a professor at Harvard Medical School, divides his clinical practice between Boston and Haiti. He is author of Infections and Inequalities *and* Pathologies of Power *(both University of California).*

In Fact . . .

GUNS-AND-BUTTER ISSUES

■ Bob Muehlenkamp writes: Thirty-one antiwar trade union leaders met in Chicago on April 26 to consider the future of US Labor Against the War (USLAW), founded in January to oppose an invasion of Iraq. The result? An ambitious new "guns or butter" campaign. "American working families face a domestic crisis," reads the group's new mission statement. "This crisis has been intensified by the Bush Administration's foreign and domestic policies of military intervention abroad and neglect at home that benefit corporations and the wealthy at the expense of working people. We cannot solve these economic and social problems without addressing US foreign policy and its consequences." During the 1960s, participants pointed out, you could argue that military spending created some good jobs. Today, that is no longer the case, as defense contractors send jobs overseas. Then, "guns and butter" seemed an easy mix; today, these labor activists argued, we can't have both. USLAW decided to throw its energies behind the AFL-CIO's plan to do what it takes to effect "regime change" in Washington. But the diverse group—representing national unions CWA, APWU, UE and UNITE; central labor councils in LA, Seattle, Philadelphia and Washington; and locals from SEIU, UAW, the Teamsters and the AFT—plans to do far more. It will create a Labor Veterans Committee to coordinate with other veterans groups in opposing cuts to vets' benefits. It will begin a massive education campaign within the labor movement on how Bush's pre-emptive war policy and his permanent war economy will make working families less, not more, secure, in terms both of personal safety and economic survival. And it will argue for a different US foreign policy approach, one that "strengthens international peacekeeping and human rights institutions and that solves disputes by diplomacy rather than war." Plans will progress at a national Labor Assembly for Security, Peace and Prosperity in Chicago on October 24.

TWO VOICES FOR RACIAL JUSTICE

■ Retired New York Episcopal Bishop Paul Moore, who died on May 1 at 83, was born to be everything but Paul Moore. A child of wealth, graduate of St. Paul's and Yale, decorated Marine Corps veteran, he should have been a CEO or a Cabinet member. Instead he became one of the country's most outspoken religious leaders for peace and social and economic justice. Active initially in civil rights, he later became an opponent of the Vietnam War and an advocate for equal rights for women and gays. Last month, near death from cancer, he used his final sermon at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine to preach against the Iraq war, denouncing George W. Bush's invocation of faith to justify it as a perversion of Christian values.... A few days later, South Africa, too, lost a great champion of racial and social justice with the death, at 90, of Walter Sisulu, retired deputy president of the African National Congress. Sisulu shared years of leadership and years of imprisonment with Nelson Mandela, who called him "my friend, my brother, my keeper, my comrade."

THIS WEEK ON THE WEB

■ The *Nation* website has launched a new online activist section allowing you to send personalized protest letters to your Reps, to craft your own political missives, to access information on upcoming legislation and to secure contact info for your local media outlets and for your legislators. Currently, you can find Action Alerts imploring the Senate to stand strong in its filibuster against right-wing judicial nominee Priscilla Owen; protesting John Ashcroft's proposed "Patriot Act II"; urging Congressional support for the American Parity Act; demanding that the FCC not relax the rules for owning newsmedia; telling the White House to halt plans for developing and testing new nuclear weapons and calling on Congress to loosen the Cuban travel embargo (www.thenation.com).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS

Dead Poets Society

SINAN ANTOON

It is agonizingly difficult to write about one's hometown as it drowns in flames and suffocates with smoke. After tons of bombs and thousands of liberatory missiles, many of Baghdad's own inhabitants have pillaged it under the voyeuristic eyes of its latest invaders. This is by no means the first time Baghdad has fallen so violently, but its fall had always happened "before" and "back then." One needed to plow through the many volumes of its history and poetry, or listen to elders, to learn more about those past falls. This time, however, it is in the painful present tense. A soft click on the remote control was all I needed here in Cairo to get variations on one theme: The fall and destruction of Baghdad is live!

As if trying to enter through one of its remaining gates, I start to approach Baghdad, or rather the many Baghdads I have carried with me for years, by measuring the extent to which its present reality betrays all of the enchanting and idealized signifiers that have represented it. Or those that have tried to capture some of its magic. For now it betrays, or is forced to betray, all of those accolades (Abode of Peace, for instance) bestowed upon it by its many rulers, chroniclers and lovers. Whichever way I choose to approach my native city, I must tread softly and warily, for its streets are still littered with bodies, books and blood. Even the safe, labyrinthine streets of my memory are not free from the ghosts of war, but at least they cannot be destroyed, looted or pillaged.

Built in 762 CE as the capital of the burgeoning empire of the Abbassids, Baghdad was repeatedly conquered and sacked by would-be emperors, some local, many foreign. The ritual of imperial ascent dictates trampling on the symbols of a glory as it is being at once eclipsed and emulated. And so the city was conquered, sacked and rebuilt time and again. Baghdad's rulers also wreaked havoc on distant lands. Yet most of its caliphs and sultans were also patrons of art and knowledge, connoisseurs and sometimes composers of the most beautiful poetry to have survived in the collective memory of Arabs. Now its ironic fate is to be subjugated by a new emperor who has yet to master his mother tongue. While he needs no lessons in the geostrategic importance of Baghdad, it's safe to say that Bush is less aware than any of the city's past conquerors of the precious symbolism and rich history of his booty.

Baghdad was once known as the enchanting "mother of the world." So sophisticated and elegant was it in its golden age that a verb (*yatabaghdadu*) was derived from its name to describe how people used to emulate and imitate the highly coveted styles and ways of Baghdad's elites. Thousands of invisible umbilical cords still bind her to her children. With every bomb, missile and fire that erupted in March and April, I felt the pain of those cords being violently severed in my heart. Now, alas, even some of those who are still in its womb are unleashing decades of pain, violence and war upon its body and scarring its memory and their own collective history in a masochistic and matricidal orgy.

George W. Bush may be less aware than any of Baghdad's past conquerors of the precious symbolism and rich history of his booty.

I grew up in the Baghdad of the 1970s and '80s. Its many faces, like its history, were already being appropriated and changed by Saddam and his regime to make it his Baghdad. Saddam's desire to inscribe his name and face onto its history and streets was insatiable. He fancied himself the descendant and natural heir to the likes of Abu Jafar al-Mansur, the city's founder, and Harun al-Rashid, its most illustrious ruler. I witnessed

Sinan Antoon's first novel, I'jam *("Diacritics"), will be published by Dar al-Adab in Beirut early next year.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COULDN'T JOIN US ON A *NATION* CRUISE? ORDER YOUR VIDEO TODAY!

Relive some of the best moments from the last four ***Nation* Seminar Cruises** by ordering a video copy of these panel discussions for just $15 each. Each videocassette contains one complete seminar session. Please note: These are the actual unedited tapes. The video production quality is basic and bare-bones; but we can promise that the panel session discussions are anything but!

1998 EASTERN CARIBBEAN

DECEMBER 11, 1998: Topic: *The Columnists Speak: Impeachment and the Presidency*; **Moderator:** Molly Ivins; **Panel:** Katha Pollitt, Eric Alterman, Patricia J. Williams, David Corn, Alexander Cockburn

DECEMBER 12, 1998: Topic: *The Left Media: Is Anyone Listening?* **Moderator:** Katha Pollitt; **Panel:** Calvin Trillin, David Corn, Daniel Ellsberg, Alexander Cockburn

2000 WESTERN CARIBBEAN

DECEMBER 6, 2000: Topic: *The Politics of Hollywood and the Media: Race, Violence, & Religion*; **Moderator:** Calvin Trillin; **Panel:** Patricia Williams, Tom Hayden, Barbara Kingsolver

DECEMBER 7, 2000: Topic: *Are Humans an Endangered Species? Globalization and the Environment*; **Moderator:** Jim Hightower; **Panel:** Molly Ivins, Tom Hayden, Patricia J. Williams, Barbara Kingsolver

DECEMBER 8, 2000: Topic: *Interview: Studs Interviews Barbara*; Studs Terkel, Barbara Kingsolver

2001 MEXICAN RIVIERA

DECEMBER 10, 2001: Topic: *Lost Priorities: Whatever Happened to the Environment, the Economy, Energy Policy, Health Care, Campaign Finance Reform—You Name It?*; **Moderator:** Calvin Trillin; **Panel:** Katrina vanden Heuvel, Katha Pollitt, Robert Scheer, Eric Alterman

DECEMBER 13, 2001: Topic: *The Future of the Left: What's Next?*; **Moderator:** Eric Alterman; **Panel:** Patricia J. Williams, Ira Glasser, Katha Pollitt, Christopher Hitchens, Alexander Cockburn

DECEMBER 14, 2001: Topic: *Mass Media: Coverage of the War*; **Moderator:** Victor Navasky; **Panel:** Ira Glasser, Katha Pollitt, Christopher Hitchens, Robert Scheer

YES, please send the videos below.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Phone _____

Please send the following videos at $15 each:

DATE OF SESSION	# OF COPIES	TOTAL PRICE
		$
		$
		$
		$
Sales Tax: 8.25% New York State residents only		$
	TOTAL	$

I am paying by: ☐ Check
☐ VISA/MC/AMEX

_____ Exp. Date _____

Signature _____

Offers are good while supplies last. Any questions should be directed to prandall@thenation.com. To receive information about this year's seminar cruise scheduled for October 22–29 to Canada and New England, call (888) 833-4339 for your FREE information kit.

his murals, monuments, statues and sayings deface Baghdad like rampant scars. By the time I left the city in 1991, it had almost become a permanent exhibition of his likeness. But for those who knew it well and looked hard enough, there were always spaces to which one could escape and converse with the city, and steal a few kisses away from his oppressive gaze, at least until the early 1980s.

In junior high school, I used to skip the classes of one boring teacher to wander in Baghdad's old streets. I was not alone in committing this "crime against our country," as the principal of our school called it when he chastised us the next day. We were skipping school to go to the movies, he said, while Iraqi men were dying on the front with Iran. Little did he know that we were acquainting ourselves with our city and its history without lethargic and dogmatic mediation. My accomplice, a classmate, was obsessed with Baghdad's history and had devoured his father's collection of history books. We used to take the bus from our school in al-A'zamiyah to the heart of old Baghdad. We wandered in Suq al-Saray, a crowded marketplace, sifting through used books and hunting for rare ones. We would pass by the famous store of al-Haydari and eat *kahi*, a delicious Baghdadi pastry with cream and syrup. We would sit at one of the old cafes on al-Rashid Street and sip cardamom tea, braving suspicious looks from the cafe's more regular and older customers. He was the perfect guide, not just because of his vast knowledge of every coup, cabinet and uprising but because I had no qualms about telling him to shut up when he went over the word limit I had randomly set, or expounded on what I deemed uninteresting! There were many times when I wanted to have the city speak on its own.

In later, less innocent years, when the Iran-Iraq war began to haunt our youth, I would walk alone in al-Karrada, starting from Kahramana Square with its beautiful statue and fountains, making my way to Abu Nuwas Street, named for the great ninth-century poet, to meet my boon companions at one of its many bars. The dark and dreary bars on Abu Nuwas were our haven, and we remained true to the poet's spirit and his songs in praise of wine: disillusionment with the here and now, but gaiety, lightheartedness and hedonism to combat its ephemera.

The dissident contemporary Iraqi poet Muzaffar al-Nawwab was our guide on our way back home at night. His fiery and banned poems were smuggled into Iraq on cassettes by exiles and circulated secretly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

among friends. Some of those friends stayed in Iraq and withered under sanctions and now another war; many ended up in various exiles, from Brazil to Australia.

A tear always wells up in my eyes whenever I listen to the traditional Baghdadi *maqamat* we used to sing together—a deep sorrow aged to perfection, echoing Mesopotamia's painful history of floods, famines and the fire of unrequited love. Arab friends always ask me about the secret of that excessive sadness of Iraqi songs. Now they know and will have to cry alone.

Having always been fascinated with birds, I liked to go to Suq al-Ghazl, where birds and other animals of all kinds were sold on Fridays. I also liked to sit on our roof and watch as the pigeons kept by our neighbor's son would take their usual flight in the afternoon in Baghdad's sky. At times they would dodge, and compete with, the kites flown by kids. Sometimes I could spot a flock of birds flying high above en route to their breeding grounds in the north. Perhaps I remember this now because of what I read a few days before the invasion. Reuters reported that these annual migration routes might be disrupted when the war erupted. It is between mid-March and mid-April that one finds the greatest number of birds in Iraq. Since many of these birds cannot make it to their breeding grounds in one flight, they stop and "refuel" on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, and in the southern marshes (drained by Saddam).

Every year around this time I would look for the one or two white storks that used to nest on the dome of the old church in Bab al-Muazzam. I wonder if they have made it to Baghdad this year. I doubt it. I had clipped that Reuters article from *al-Hayat* and left it lying around. When I read the article again on the second day of the war, B-52 bombers were taking off from Fairford Airbase in England and heading toward the skies over Baghdad. Someone on Fox News described them as "beautiful birds." Rumsfeld was speaking of "the humanity" which went into the making of these weapons.

If they don't perish, the storks will try to return next year. Perhaps many Baghdadis who have been forced to seek refuge away from Baghdad are now wondering: How long will it be before the skies are clear? How long must they continue to recite the lines written by a fellow Baghdadi, Muzaffar al-Nawwab:

I have accepted that my fate
Be like that of a bird
And endured everything
Except humiliation
Or having my heart
Be caged in the Sultan's palace
But O dear God
Even birds have homes to return to
Whereas I fly across this homeland
From sea to sea
Jail after jail after jail
And one jailer hugging another!

A few weeks ago, I felt a pang of pain as I watched an American tank crawling across the al-Jumhuriya bridge in the heart of Baghdad, a bridge I've crossed hundreds of times. I used to linger a bit halfway through, especially when walking alone, and look down at the river. The Tigris splits Baghdad into two sections: al-Karkh on the western bank and al-Rusafah to the east. I would recite Ali Ibn al-Jahm's famous line about the enchanting, almond-shaped eyes of Baghdadi women who used to cross from one bank to the other back in the ninth century. On a lucky day, I hoped that I would encounter a descendant or two of those women. The moonlike faces celebrated in thousands of verses are now hiding in houses on both banks. Voyeuristic satellites hover above and scrutinize every inch of the city's body.

It was impossible, whenever I crossed any bridge over the Tigris, not to remember the great poem al-Jawahiri wrote on Baghdad from his Prague exile in the early 1960s. Born in 1899, al-Jawahiri grew up in Najaf, but like many of his peers, he fell in love with Baghdad and claimed it as his home, and as his muse. His Baghdad was *umm al-basatin* (the mother of orchards). He saluted its banks and embraced them from his exile. He reminisced about the boats meandering through the Tigris and wished that their sails be his shroud the day he was laid to rest. Alas, al-Jawahiri died in exile and was buried in Damascus in 1997. Today many parts of the mother of orchards have been demolished by American bombs.

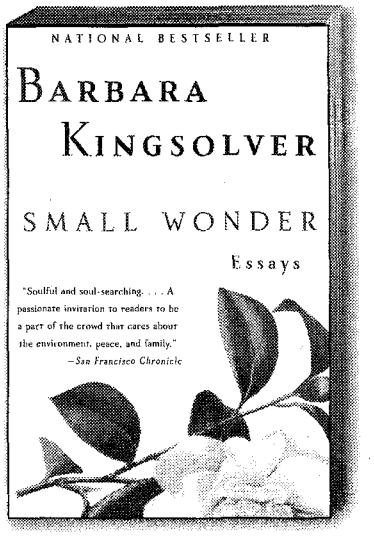
In hoping to be buried in Baghdad, al-Jawahiri was probably echoing one of his literary ancestors, the great eleventh-century poet al-Maarri. Abu Lala al-Maarri left his hometown in Syria and came to Baghdad, but was disappointed at the cold reception and departed vowing never to return. However, as soon as he left, he could not contain his desire to return:

Were it my choice I would have died
among you
But, alas, that is beyond my reach
Give me one last drink from the Tigris
If I could, I would drink the whole river

Author of the *New York Times* Bestseller

The Poisonwood Bible

BARBARA KINGSOLVER


NATIONAL BESTSELLER
BARBARA KINGSOLVER
SMALL WONDER
Essays
"Soulful and soul-searching. . . . A passionate invitation to readers to be a part of the crowd that cares about the environment, peace, and family."
—San Francisco Chronicle

"Warmhearted, resilient and undistracted by fame and fortune from the things she knows really matter, **Barbara Kingsolver writes in a voice that is not only *for* the people but *of* the people."**
—*Women's Review of Books*

***"Small Wonder* glows with Kingsolver's honest literary language of enchantment."**
—*Entertainment Weekly*

"Food, motherhood, gardening, literature, television, homelessness, globalization, scientific illiteracy, selfishness and forgiveness all come under **sharp and revelatory** scrutiny. As does love of country."
—*Booklist*

NOW IN PAPERBACK

Go to www.kingsolver.com for a *Small Wonder* Discussion Kit and Reading Group Guide

ALSO AVAILABLE FROM HarperAudio

Perennial
An Imprint of HarperCollins*Publishers*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOBODY OWNS THE NATION.

Not GE. Not Disney. Not Murdoch or AOL Time Warner.
We are a wholly owned subsidiary of our own conscience.

This independence is why great writers have always used *The Nation* as an Early Warning System—to expose before it's too late the frauds, felonies and follies of the too private enterprise we call Our Government.

And it's why week in, week out we're read by an audience as illustrious as our authors.

If you believe, as our readers do, that the highest form of patriotism is demanding to know exactly what Government's doing in your name, why not sign on today at this *very* low rate? You can save a lot—not least of which could be your country.

THAT'S WHY SO MANY SOMEBODIES READ IT

(Legally speaking, of course, everything has an owner, but as a *Nation* editor once wrote, "It is one of the superb facts about *The Nation* that you can no more 'own' it than you can own the spirit it represents.")

24 ISSUES JUST $21.97

Save $48 off the newsstand price!

Yes, please add my name to the long list of notable *Nation* subscribers!

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

[ ] MY PAYMENT IS ENCLOSED. [ ] BILL ME AFTER. BILL MY [ ] MASTERCARD [ ] VISA [ ] AMEX

CARD NUMBER EXPIRATION DATE

SIGNATURE

New subscribers only. Canadian orders add $13 for 24 issues, $26 for 47 issues. All other overseas add $29.50 via airmail for 24 issues, $59 for 47 issues. Payable in advance in US funds only.

Mail to: THE NATION, P.O. Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149
[ ] I'd prefer a full year (47 issues) for $35.97

For fastest service call 1-800-333-8536 4H6D

Ruby Dee and Ossie Davis are longstanding *Nation* readers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In 1991, the United States bombed the bridge about which I am writing, slicing it in the middle. The justification back then, as it is for other destructive blows now, was that it was part of the command-and-control network. The next morning I rushed there on my bike to see the ruins for myself. Hundreds of Baghdadis came and looked in solemn silence. Unable to link Baghdad's two banks, the bridge resembled a broken smile. My best friend and I used to roam Baghdad surveying the daily destruction and checking on friends and relatives to see if they had been consigned to that dubious category of "collateral damage." The bombing had severed all communications in the first week of the war, and the phones were dead. The tank spits its fire toward a row of houses on the eastern bank and blazes go up. The correspondent announces that Apaches are hovering over Baghdad for the first time. Alas, this is a familiar species of bird in our part of the world. They come to make sure that Baghdad's residents are to join Palestinians as recipients of the latest forms of lethal liberation.

Rivers of blood flow along the Tigris as America tattoos its imperial insignia onto the bodies of Iraqi children and stamps their future with its corporate logos (to "safeguard" it). There is an abyss in and around Iraq, and it widens by the moment. But one must look for, and cling to, a bridge. And so I try. A few bridges north of al-Jumhuriya bridge lies Jisr al-Shuhada (Martyrs' Bridge). Throngs of Iraqis burst into the streets in January 1948 to express their anger and rejection of the Portsmouth treaty, signed between the despicable Iraqi government of the time and Britain. Some were killed by the regime's bullets on that bridge. Al-Jawahiri commemorated that uprising with one of his most powerful poems. It was an elegy for his brother, Jafar, who died in his arms. Many Iraqis know the poem's opening lines by heart. Like many of al-Jawahiri's poems, this one has a few prophetic lines: "I see a horizon lit with blood/And many a starless night/A generation comes and another goes/And the fire keeps burning."

Baghdadis and Iraqis have indeed lost too much, but not their collective memory. The tanks will have to go soon, and so will the generals, the soldiers and their Iraqi informants. I can already hear the chants of the demonstrators and read the signs. The clock is already ticking, and the message is so simple even Bush can understand it: Leave!

In the *Thousand and One Nights*, that great work eternally synonymous with Baghdad, when morning comes, Sheherazade, the mother of all narrators, must embrace silence and leave her readers to wonder about where the narrative will go next. It is mourning time for me, and Baghdad is now enveloped in a long, cruel and starless night. She will wake up once more and will try to forget, as she has done in the past. Meanwhile, I will tend to her scars, ward off future nightmares and shower her with kisses and love from afar. ■

The Revolution Within

ROBERT D. ENGLISH

KHRUSHCHEV: The Man and His Era. By William Taubman. Norton. 876 pp. $35.

CONVERSATIONS WITH GORBACHEV: On Perestroika, the Prague Spring, and the Crossroads of Socialism. By Mikhail Gorbachev and Zdenek Mlynar. Columbia. 225 pp. $24.95.

GORBACHEV AND YELTSIN AS LEADERS. By George W. Breslauer. Cambridge. 331 pp. $65.

In the current national climate, the notion that Washington might learn from the experience of former Soviet leaders Nikita Khrushchev or Mikhail Gorbachev would strike most as ludicrous. Certainly the Bush Administration consensus is that the cold war's overriding lesson was that only power really matters in international affairs. The dwindling number of Americans who even know of Khrushchev mostly recall him as the buffoon who banged his shoe at the United Nations, or the gambler whose nuclear bluff was called over Cuba. And even such liberal tribunes as the *New York Times* no longer question the right's claim that it was essentially American might—"Star Wars brought the Soviets to their knees!"—that forced Gorbachev into retreat and reform.

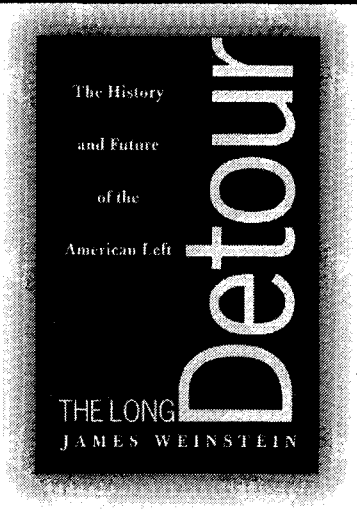
How timely, then, is the appearance of several important books that call these flawed and dangerous certitudes into question. Although they examine different periods of Soviet history, through varied lenses, they point to some common lessons of enduring relevance. Among these are the enormous difficulties of reforming a quasi-autocratic political system, the cultural as well as political obstacles to liberalizing and opening a long-isolated society, and the attendant need for more patience and subtlety in relations toward such states than Washington has usually shown. These books also invite a rethinking of the conventional wisdom on several key historical judgments. For example, in the real context of the tremendous opposition they faced, the failures of the "bumbling" Khrushchev and "fatally indecisive" Gorbachev are surely outweighed by their accomplishments. Similarly, in light of the real international opportunities that were missed—both during and after the cold war—the reigning triumphalist assessments of US foreign policy cry out for revision. It hardly needs emphasizing that, in dictatorial or autocratic political systems, leadership is of paramount importance. This certainly was so for Soviet Russia when, at the end of the 1920s, Joseph Stalin turned his country from the evolutionary path of market socialism to that of hyper-centralization and militarization via a murderous "revolution from above." So pitiless was Stalin's twenty-year purging of the Soviet political and intellectual elite, and so extensive was his cultivation of xenophobia and international confrontation, that when the tyrant finally died in 1953 the chances of liberalizing the country's domestic and foreign policy were judged to be virtually nil by most foreign observers. Party members with reformist inclinations, they argued, would inevitably be crushed by the totalitarian structures Stalin had created —the "permanent purge," in one famous description. Therefore, one of the enduring puzzles of Soviet history is how quickly these judgments were proved wrong when, shortly after Stalin's death, Khrushchev embarked on the reforms commonly known as "the thaw."

What were Khrushchev's motives? Was he seeking primarily to outflank Stalinist rivals, or to revive stagnant production, or to ease confrontation with the West? All of these explanations are well developed in the political science literature. But only a political biography could illuminate the personal, human dimension of Khrushchev's decision to follow the risky path of de-Stalinization. William Taubman subtly

Robert D. English teaches at the University of Southern California. He is the co-editor of My Six Years With Gorbachev *(Penn State).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW FROM WESTVIEW



"*The Long Detour* is THE necessary book for progressives who still believe that the good fight can be won."
—John Nichols, *The Nation*

"A revelatory book for these chaotic times."—Studs Terkel

0-8133-4104-3, 304 pages, $26.00, cloth

Westview Press
www.westviewpress.com

At bookstores now, or call 1-800-386-5656

ENOUGH!

100% cotton T-shirt.

To order send check or money order for $20 per shirt (no S/H) to DBA-ADB, Inc. 325 Broadway, Suite #304, New York, NY 10007. Or call toll free (888) 467-0900. Please indicate size (S, M, L, XL).

SCHOLARLY BOOKLET PROVES JESUS NEVER EXISTED!

Conclusive proof Flavius Josephus created fictional Jesus, authored Gospels. AMAZING but **ABSOLUTELY INCONTROVERTIBLE!** Send $5 to Abelard Reuchlin Foundation, Box 5652-B, Kent WA 98064. For details please send SASE

explores that dimension, and much else, in his comprehensive new study of the enigmatic Soviet leader, *Khrushchev: The Man and His Era*. Drawing on a vast range of documentary and interview sources, Taubman's treatment of Khrushchev's youth and political rise shows the persistent dualities in his character and career: his yearning for education and culture, matched by an often-shocking coarseness; his ambition and opportunism, tempered by an enduring idealism; his capacity for both ruthlessness and remorse; and his schizophrenic attitude toward the towering figure of Stalin.

Taubman vividly recounts Khrushchev's advance from peasant childhood to accomplished (and well-paid) metalworker on the eve of the Russian Revolution. At the time, Khrushchev was living in Yuzkova, in Russian-dominated Eastern Ukraine, and also working as a labor activist. He later admitted that it pained him "to remember that as a worker under capitalism I'd had much better living conditions than my fellow workers living under Soviet power." Recalling Khrushchev's early trade-unionist orientation, Stalin's henchman Vyacheslav Molotov once sneered, "He was no revolutionary. It was only in 1918 that he joined the party. That's how active he was! By that time plenty of simple workers had joined. Yet this is the kind of man who later became leader of our party! It's absurd!"

Yet once Khrushchev had joined, his organizing talent and inexhaustible energy propelled him rapidly, particularly in the midst of the intraparty struggles that followed Bolshevik founder Lenin's death in 1924. Here Taubman's readers unfamiliar with Soviet history may find the going a bit rough, as such figures as Leon Trotsky and Nikolai Bukharin—and the political alternatives they represented—are difficult to distinguish. But so were they for Khrushchev, who, like other workers-cum-rising party officials, was confused by the policy debates of the late 1920s and so drawn to Stalin's simple, brutal promises to stamp out vestiges of capitalism and accelerate progress toward socialism. Still, by the time of Khrushchev's service as Moscow party boss (and Central Committee member) in the mid-to-late 1930s, he began to experience doubts about the human costs of Stalinist Communism as the purge trials and attendant terror mowed down former friends and associates. At the time, however, these doubts were pushed aside by the euphoria he felt as one of Stalin's young lieutenants who, barely fifteen years earlier, had been but a "simple worker." As Taubman writes:

> What a heady feeling it must have been to rise so high so fast, to come to know Stalin himself, to sit by the great man's side in the Kremlin and at family dinners at his dacha, to think that the leader of the USSR and of world communism regarded him with respect and even affection.... Disappointed as he was in his own father, is it too much to say that Stalin seemed like a father figure to Khrushchev, one he insisted on idealizing despite increasingly powerful evidence of his flaws? "Stalin liked me," Khrushchev later insisted.

It was likely only the trauma of World War II, with its direct experience of Stalin's blundering, caprice and senseless sacrifice of millions of loyal Soviet lives (as opposed to those of suspected "traitors"), that prompted Khrushchev's first serious, though still mostly silent, reappraisal of the godlike tyrant. And, after the flush of victory and postwar reconstruction, it was apparently only during the paranoid sickness of Stalin's final years that the ever-ambitious Khrushchev resolved that, should he survive and emerge in the top leadership, things would change.

This is what began in earnest at the landmark Twentieth Party Congress of 1956, famous for Khrushchev's "secret speech" denouncing Stalin. Taubman details Khrushchev's "manic ambivalence" at this critical juncture: his mix of political and personal motives, his indignation at what the investigation of the purges revealed and his remorse over his own responsibility for the bloodletting. Khrushchev also feared the fallout of his impending parricide, yet held "a naïve faith that socialism, once purified of its Stalinist stain, would command ever more loyalty from its beneficiaries."

A political masterstroke, de-Stalinization nevertheless failed to have the desired effect upon its beneficiaries. In the Soviet satellites of Poland and Hungary, it sparked unrest and rebellion. At home, intellectuals pushed debate beyond what the party (and an angry Khrushchev, admiring yet ever suspicious of the cultural elite) could tolerate. And the economy, after an initial surge and such triumphs as Sputnik in 1957, slumped anew. Much of the blame lies with Khrushchev's belief that enthusiasm and reorganization—as seen in the ill-fated campaigns to plant corn widely and cultivate marginal "virgin lands"—were enough to get the country moving. Khrushchev himself, in words that would be echoed by Russian reformers, faulted a deeper, systemic inertia:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We found our best watch in a history book

In 1923, a small watchmaker in Switzerland designed the first watch to display day, month, date, AM and PM. It is rumored that only 100 of these magnificent timepieces were made and this mechanical marvel was almost lost to history. Today, early chronographs from the 1920's designed in the Schaffhausen region are so rare that one original watch can fetch more than $300,000 at auction.

These watches were among the most stylish and complex of the roaring 20's. And yet no one has attempted to recreate the designs of these early chronographs until now. The watch design that you see here has been painstakingly created from designs in Watch history books printed in the 1920's. The watch even has a rotating AM/PM dial that graphically depicts the sun and the stars. The owner of this classic chronograph watch is sure to look distinguished since every detail from the sweeping second hand to the genuine leather strap has been carefully engineered.

This reissue is a limited edition that comes with a certificate of authenticity so that you will be able to own a collectors watch far rarer than watches costing thousands more.

This watch has a classic mechanical movement with automatic power inspired by the engineering breakthrough of John Harwood in 1923, thus the watch never needs batteries and never needs to be manually wound. The watch comes in a beautiful mahogany toned wood case.

This is a chance to claim a piece of watchmaking history in an elegant design that is still priced to wear everyday. This offer is being made directly to you so you can add this watch to your collection at a very affordable price.

The watch comes with a 30 day no questions asked money-back guarantee. If you're not completely satisfied, simply return it for a full refund of the purchase price.

Not Available in Stores

Call now to take advantage of this limited offer.

1923 Timepiece ~~$295~~ **$199 + S&H.**

800-859-1602

Promotional Code STR113

Please mention this when you call.

To order by mail, please call for details.

NEXTTEN

products for your next ten years.

14101 Southcross Drive West, Department STR113
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day **800-859-1602**

MasterCard VISA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Improve Your Spanish

EL PUENTE is a 32-page monthly magazine written in high beginning to low intermediate Spanish featuring:

- articles from world news, current affairs, culture, science, travel & more
- a side-by-side bilingual glossary to build your vocabulary
- a grammar review, and much more

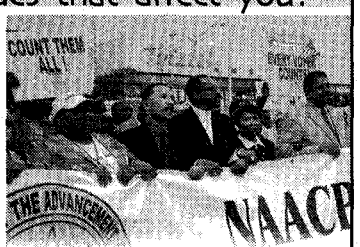
AND ENJOY IT!

Practice makes perfect and "El Puente" is the perfect practice!

EDUCATIONAL NEWS SERVICE
800-600-4494
www.ednews.com

Only $49 for 10 monthly issues!

Keep your finger on the issues that affect you!



Call 410.580.5136 or visit

Subscribe to CRISIS

www.thecrisismagazine.com

Cuba's Grassroots Development

GLOBAL EXCHANGE
Reality Tours
800-497-1994 | www.globalexchange.org

Grassroots Community Development Explore a different reality that the people of Cuba face in meeting their basic human educational, health, nutritional, and cultural needs. With limited resources, these organized systems of grassroots community development are crucial in the maintenance of Cuba. **July 11-20, 2003**

Chiapas: Land & Freedom

GLOBAL EXCHANGE
Reality Tours
800-497-1994 | www.globalexchange.org

Tierra y Libertad–Chiapas, Mexico Learn about what has motivated the popular movements in Southern Mexico. Examine the recent history of Chiapas and the struggle for indigenous autonomy. Learn about the on going efforts for economic justice and democracy. **August 3-12, 2003**

> You'd think I, as first secretary, could change anything in this country. Like hell I can! No matter what changes I propose and carry out, everything stays the same. Russia's like a tub full of dough, you put your hand in it, down to the bottom, and think you're the master of the situation. When you pull out your hand, a little hole remains, but then, before your very eyes, the dough expands into a spongy, puffy mass. That's what Russia is like!

Yet foreign affairs too played a major role in Khrushchev's eventual downfall. Reading Taubman's discussion of the view from the Kremlin, one is struck by the West's inability to understand the magnitude of Khrushchev's project, by the way that many US policies seemed almost designed to weaken him in his battle with Moscow hard-liners and by the wasted chances for true "peaceful coexistence." For example, through the Eisenhower years Khrushchev struggled to improve relations with the West while fending off attacks from Soviet (and Chinese) Stalinists. His bluster, mainly over Berlin, belied desperation for some diplomatic breakthrough. Yet Washington repeatedly spurned his advances. "If, as [Secretary of State John Foster] Dulles concluded, America's hard line had forced the Soviets to contemplate reform, now was the time to keep up the pressure. Not the least of that pressure was the first U-2 spy flight that soared over Moscow and Leningrad on July 4, 1956, the very day Khrushchev and his colleagues graced the American Embassy's Independence Day party with their presence."

Those incursions continued up through the 1960 May Day overflight, which was finally, after many failed attempts, downed. Washington's subsequent lies (an off-course weather plane) and Eisenhower's rejection of steps that would have allowed Khrushchev to save face made the scuttling of that year's Paris summit highly likely. Relations with the Kennedy Administration began little better, with each side misunderstanding the other's intentions and overreacting to such moves as construction of the Berlin wall and the Bay of Pigs. This, together with America's mounting strategic superiority and growing pressure from Soviet hard-liners, is what apparently led to Khrushchev's 1962 decision to place nuclear missiles in Cuba.

It was terribly fortunate that both leaders found the sense to step back from Armageddon and turn to serious negotiations, which produced the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty, the first major arms agreement of the nuclear age. Yet, thanks as much to American as Soviet intransigence, the treaty fell far short of what it might have achieved, which reflects the tragedy of US-Soviet relations throughout the Khrushchev era. Would a bit more flexibility over the number of onsite inspections have been too high a price for a *total*, not just limited, nuclear test ban? For that matter, were Kennedy's domestic critics so much more dangerous than Khrushchev's that publicly admitting the Cuban trade-off (removal of US missiles from Turkey), and thereby permitting Moscow to claim some advantage too, was an unacceptable alternative to Washington's triumphant crowing? Would the slightest concession to Soviet interests in Germany have been so awful, particularly if it had strengthened Khrushchev and permitted early détente in Europe, and facilitated the deep military cuts that Khrushchev had begun, but that were soon halted after his 1964 ouster?

It would be nearly twenty years before Moscow would be ruled by another reformer, two decades of costly arms racing and Third World confrontation whose ruinous effects are felt to this day, from Angola to Afghanistan. And in the early 1980s, most Western observers ruled out the possibility of major reform, arguing, as they had in the 1950s, that the system simply wouldn't permit it. Yet again, they were proved wrong, this time by the rise of *perestroika*. Khrushchev's and Gorbachev's reforms were not just parallel epochs; without the former, the latter would have been inconceivable. This is the first lesson of *Conversations With Gorbachev*, an unusually candid and revealing dialogue between the author of *perestroika* and Zdenek Mlynar, one of the architects of the "Prague Spring" of 1968.

Longtime friends, the two became acquainted during the early thaw years at Moscow University. The Czech exchange student and medal-winning Russian farm boy learned from each other while engaging in the once-forbidden debates that swept the Soviet capital in the early post-Stalin years. Both were "children of the 20th Congress," believers in the promise of a more democratic and humane socialism; they stayed in touch over the next decade, until Mlynar's 1967 visit to Gorbachev in his native Stavropol region (so unusual that it attracted KGB attention). By then a Czechoslovakian thaw was in the works, with Mlynar playing a major role, and the former classmates discussed reform possibilities in detail. Gorbachev was intrigued and sup-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lighting Technology for eye comfort

A floor lamp that spreads sunshine all over a room

The VERILUX® HappyEyes® Floor Lamp brings many of the benefits of natural daylight indoors for glare-free lighting that's perfect for a variety of indoor activities.

The VERILUX® HappyEyes® Floor Lamp will change the way you see and feel about your living or work spaces.

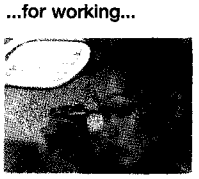
Ever since the first human went into a dark cave and built a fire, people have realized the importance of proper indoor lighting. Unfortunately, since Edison invented the light bulb, lighting technology has remained relatively prehistoric. Modern light fixtures do little to combat many symptoms of improper lighting, such as eye strain, dryness or burning. As more and more of us spend longer hours in front of a computer monitor, the results are compounded. And the effects of indoor lighting are not necessarily limited to physical well being. Many people believe that the quantity and quality of light can play a part in one's mood and work performance. Now VERILUX®, a leader in healthy lighting since 1956 has developed a better way to bring the positive benefits of natural sunlight indoors.

Use the VERILUX® HappyEyes® Floor Lamp...

...for hobbies...

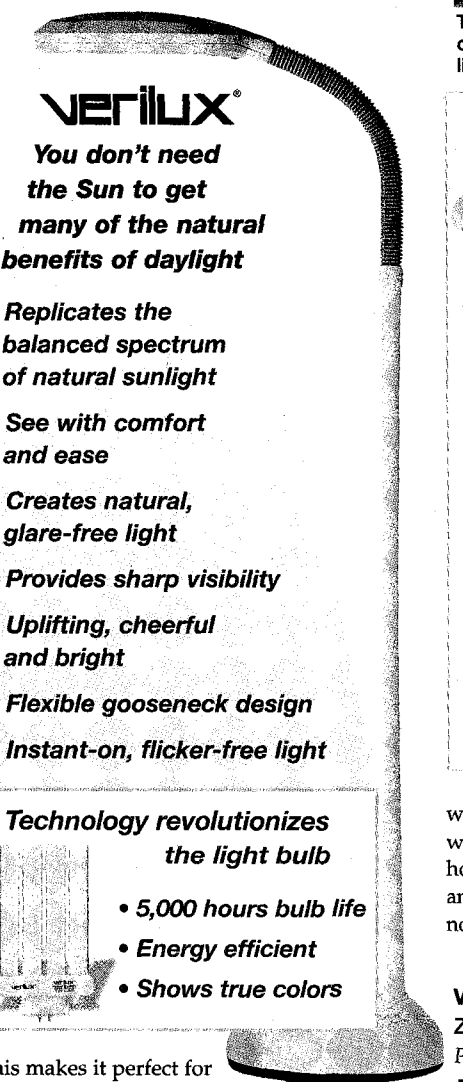
...for reading...

...for working...



...and when you need a good source of light for close-up tasks.

The VERILUX® HappyEyes® Floor Lamp will change the way you see and feel about your living or work spaces. Studies show that sunshine can lift your mood and your energy levels, but as we all know the sun, unfortunately, does not always shine. So to bring the benefits of natural daylight indoors, VERILUX, The Healthy Lighting Company™, created the VERILUX HappyEyes Floor Lamp that simulates the balanced spectrum of daylight. You will see with more comfort and ease as this lamp provides sharp visibility for close tasks and reduces eyestrain. Its 27-watt compact fluorescent bulb is the equivalent to a 150-watt ordinary light bulb.



VERILUX®

You don't need the Sun to get many of the natural benefits of daylight

- ***Replicates the balanced spectrum of natural sunlight***
- ***See with comfort and ease***
- ***Creates natural, glare-free light***
- ***Provides sharp visibility***
- ***Uplifting, cheerful and bright***
- ***Flexible gooseneck design***
- ***Instant-on, flicker-free light***

Technology revolutionizes the light bulb

- ***5,000 hours bulb life***
- ***Energy efficient***
- ***Shows true colors***

This makes it perfect for activities such as reading, writing, sewing and needlepoint, and especially for aging eyes. For artists, the VERILUX HappyEyes Floor Lamp can bring a source of natural light into a studio, and show the true colors of a work. This lamp has a flexible gooseneck design for maximum efficiency, and an "Instant On" switch that is flicker-free. The high fidelity electronics, ergonomically correct design, and bulb that lasts five times longer than an ordinary bulb make this product a must-see.

Try this manufacturer direct special offer. The VERILUX HappyEyes Floor Lamp comes with a one-year manufacturer's limited warranty and TechnoScout's exclusive home trial. Try this product for 30 days and return it for the full purchase price if not satisfied, less shipping and handling.

This light can change the way you live and work

"I love it! Reading is so much easier on my eyes. It's also great for doing crafts. The lamp's light weight allows me to bring it anywhere.
—Karen R. CA

It really brightens up my office, Thank you.
—Jan L. GA

I use my computer all the time and WOW what a difference. I just put it up and I can see!
—Kathy N. CA

It is really nice and eliminates the glare!
—Nita P. CA

It is a nice sunny product for a windowless office."
—Edith L. NJ

VERILUX® HappyEyes® Floor Lamp
ZZ-1777 . . . . . **$129.95** + S&H
Please mention source code 24563.

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day

800-399-7853

To order by mail with check or money order, or by credit card, please call for total amount plus S&H. To charge it to your credit card, enclose your account number and expiration date.
Virginia residents only—please add 4.5% sales tax.

Verilux and HappyEyes are registered trademarks of Verilux, Inc.

LATEST...GREATEST...NEATEST...COOLEST
You can see hundreds of high-tech products at
www.technoscout.com

TECHNOSCOUT
1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

30564

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now enjoy a whole new way of viewing the world with...

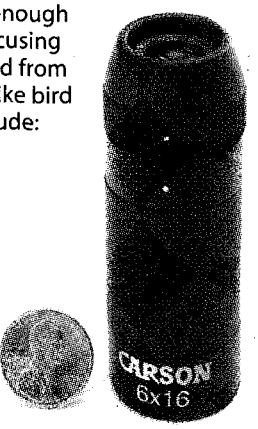
Micro Mono

World's smallest full featured high quality monocular

just $ 39.95...

This amazing monocular system provides super crystal clear viewing with an amazing field of view of 472 feet at 1000 yards and is small enough to fit in any pocket comfortably. It also features Clickstop focusing to help retain the focusing setting as the monocular is moved from place to place. The Micro-Mono is perfect for any activities, like bird watching, concerts and sports watching. Other features include:

- 6 x Magnification
- 16mm objective lens
- Bk-7 roof prism
- 8mm eye relief, perfect for those who wear glasses
- A neck loop, soft pouch and a lens cloth
- Black shell color
- Dimensions 3" x 1" x 1"



Order yours today. **30-Day Money Back Guarantee**, less S/H, lifetime limited warranty. We accept Visa/MC/Amex, Check/Money Order. Include $5.95 Shipping & handling. (WA) residents add 8.9% sales tax. Save more buy 2 and get **FREE** shipping. Item# OP-616.

PJ & Associates

A Division of Somerhills

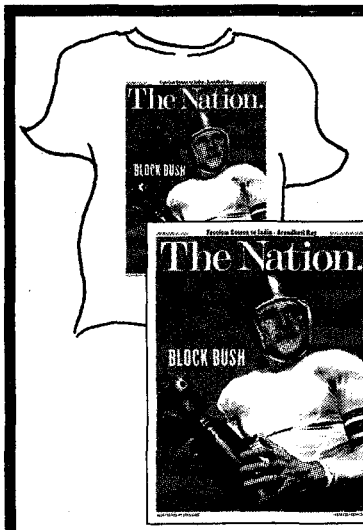
2201 South Tacoma Way #100, Tacoma, WA 98409

Call **Toll Free 1-877-519-0622**

www.pj-associates.com

Premium/wholesale buyers welcome. With or without logo. Call 253-896-9398 or write.

mention order code TN503



LIMITED EDITION POSTERS & T-SHIRTS!

BLOCK BUSH

The Nation's recent cover features original artwork by John Carr. We've turned it into full color, 100% cotton T-shirts (union made) for just $17+S/H* or choose the glossy 18" x 24" poster for just $12.+S/H* Display them proudly and tell the world how you feel about President Dubya's crusade.

ITEM	STYLE	SIZE	QTY	COST	S/H*	TOTAL COST
T-SHIRT	BLOCK BUSH	☐S ☐M ☐L ☐XL				
POSTERS	BLOCK BUSH	18" x 24"				

Credit Card ☐ Visa ☐ MC ☐ AMEX Total Enclosed _____

Name on Card _____ Ship to: _____

Card # _____ Exp. Date _____ Address _____

Phone _____ E-mail _____ City/State/ZIP _____

*Add Shipping/Handling: 1 item=$3; 2–4 items=$5; 5–7 items=$7; 8–10 items=$9; more than 10 items, add 10% of total cost. International orders add $5 per item.

To order, send credit card info, check or money order (US currency) payable to The Nation, or e-mail/call with credit card info and telephone number to: The Nation Mart, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003 • (212) 209-5400 • larriw@thenation.com. Please allow approximately 4 weeks for delivery. New York residents please add sales tax.

portive. Yet for his own country he espoused not a broad transformation of the Soviet system but rather a cleansing of bureaucratic irrationality by enlisting the presumed legions of party officials who shared his frustrations and aspirations for a humane socialism.

As for foreign policy, Gorbachev admits to being little moved by the crushing of the Prague Spring; under the sway of propaganda, he believed that the Soviet invasion was a necessary counter to NATO subversion (not an entirely implausible belief, given the record of Western clandestine operations in Eastern Europe, of which Taubman also reminds us). It was only a year later, when he was traveling with a delegation to Czechoslovakia, that Gorbachev saw things with "far-reaching consequences" for his outlook:

> People turned their backs on us; they didn't want to speak with us.... For me this was a shock. I suddenly understood that despite all the global, strategic, and ideological justifications, we had suppressed something that had grown up within our own society. From that time on I began to think more and more about our own situation and I came to rather unconsoling conclusions—that something wasn't right among us.

That trip planted the seeds of Gorbachev's "new thinking," which was reinforced by his subsequent travel around Europe, his study of Western social democracy and reading of dissident Soviet thinkers, and, in the early 1980s, by his growing ties with reformist and "semi-dissident" Moscow economists, scientists and intellectuals. It is notable that the availability to the Soviet elite of such heretical writings—indeed, the very existence of a strong pro-reform current among Soviet academics and policy advisers—was a product of Khrushchev's liberalization. It is also notable that none of the other contenders for party leadership in 1985 had anything approaching Gorbachev's reformist credentials.

After taking office, Gorbachev saw his faith in the reformist commitment of the party-at-large repeatedly disappointed (something that he acknowledges not only retarded economic reforms but later led to his downfall, thanks to misplaced trust in those who would later betray him). He'd been chosen to get the country moving again, but his efforts to do so collided with entrenched interests at every turn. So he grew increasingly radical, and within a year began pushing for major foreign-policy changes abroad while unleashing *glasnost*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to overcome resistance at home. In 1987 he outlined plans for democratization—amazingly, to include multi-candidate elections—that were also later approved at an extraordinary party conference in 1988.

These moves helped shift the locus of domestic political authority from the party and military-industrial elite to a new public sphere, a transformation carefully analyzed in George Breslauer's *Gorbachev and Yeltsin as Leaders*. It was also in 1988 that Gorbachev enhanced his international authority, and silenced most Western skeptics, with the steps laid out in his December UN address: deep, unilateral arms cuts; rejection of ideology in international relations; and a call for a new world order of cooperation in solving such global problems as poverty, pollution, crime and terrorism.

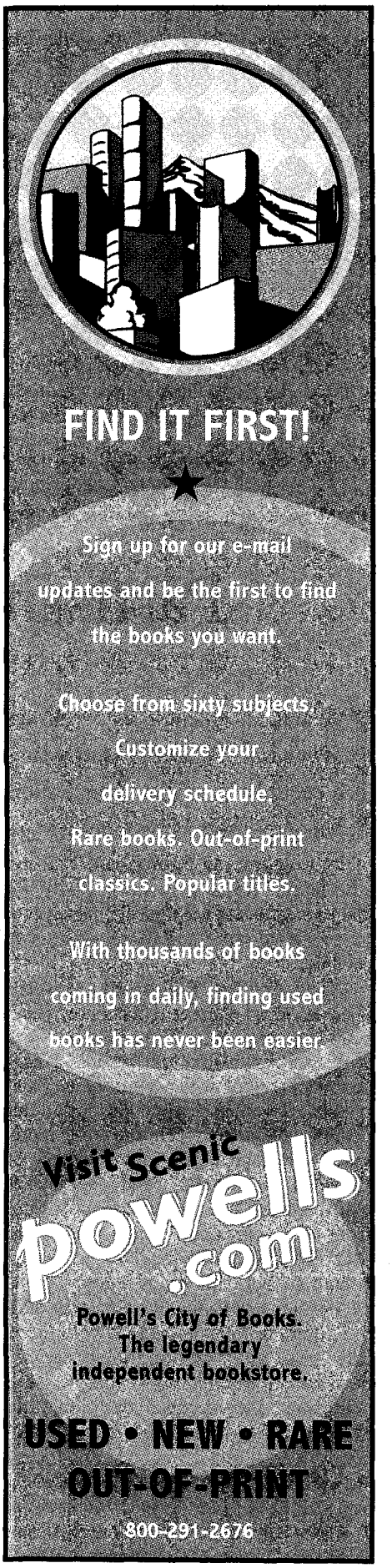
Some in Washington remained unconvinced, however. The new Bush Administration, still not sure if Gorbachev was "for real" or just trying a ruse, put the brakes on progress in US-Soviet relations with a yearlong "pause" that deprived *perestroika* of critical economic and diplomatic support just when it was most needed. Breslauer writes that Gorbachev's authority was partly "hostage to the behavior of the United States," which, as if oblivious to his domestic opposition, would offer nothing more than "to sign deals that involved Soviet acceptance of maximal U.S. terms." *Perestroika* benefited from the thaw's positive legacies, not the least of which was Gorbachev's team of reformist aides, all children of the Twentieth Congress. But Gorbachev was also haunted by the negative lesson of Khrushchev's fate, namely the danger of being removed for pushing too fast. One of the great "what ifs" of the late cold war is how *perestroika* might have fared had Bush Senior—who was at least publicly committed to the USSR's reform, not its collapse—shared some of the "vision thing" so eloquently displayed in *Conversations With Gorbachev*.

A notable aspect of Breslauer's study is its revision of the author's previous framework—his well-known authority-building model developed in an earlier book on Khrushchev and Brezhnev—in light of *perestroika*. And it leads him, in analyzing Gorbachev and Yeltsin, to place greater emphasis on the impact of leaders' personalities and beliefs, rather than the constraints of the political system, in explaining their policy choices. Even more could be made of this, especially for Gorbachev's foreign policy, where the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear reactor accident—arguably the single strongest impetus toward his radical "new thinking" and the policies that soon followed—is largely overlooked. Breslauer also addresses the kind of "what ifs" noted above, counterfactuals ignored in most writings on Soviet politics. Here he stresses the centrality of Gorbachev's principled beliefs and commitment to nonviolence in the USSR's democratization and the cold war's peaceful end, outcomes judged unlikely under any of his rivals for power.

This emphasis on leadership holds for post-Soviet politics as well, with Breslauer attributing to Yeltsin's character and style decisive influence in the USSR's collapse and Russia's subsequent travails. Eschewing the poles of lionization and demonization, Breslauer compares Yeltsin and Khrushchev as anti-establishment populists. He also recognizes Yeltsin's sincere reformism (at least early on) in his politically suicidal 1987 criticism of Gorbachev's timidity; who foresaw the possibility of Yeltsin's political rebirth just two years later via the new electoral system that Gorbachev himself would create? But Yeltsin the erstwhile anti-establishmentarian, who as president of Russia later admitted that "I do not pretend to understand the philosophy behind our economic reforms," would respond to the failure of these reforms by discarding his populism to become a reclusive patriarch dispensing favors (and invading Chechnya) to shore up his authority in a sadly traditional fashion. Another irony is that the onetime corruption fighter would preside over an unprecedented explosion of criminality and corruption in post-Soviet Russia.

Yet this corruption was in key respects aided and abetted by the West. How different might Russia look today if the leading powers and their financial institutions had appreciated Russia's unique problems and the unique solutions they required? How different might world politics be today if, instead of paying lip service to Gorbachev's entreaties for joint solutions to global problems, and instead of snubbing post-Soviet Russia as a genuine partner, the United States had taken these initiatives seriously?

Of course, Washington alone is hardly to blame for the failures and missed opportunities. Soviet/Russian mistakes and misdeeds have also been many. Neither should we overlook another counterfactual—how much worse things could have been—by forgetting those points where American leaders acted with wisdom and restraint. For example, how tragically might the Cuban missile crisis have ended had Kennedy cut diplomacy short and followed


FIND IT FIRST!
Sign up for our e-mail updates and be the first to find the books you want.
Choose from sixty subjects. Customize your delivery schedule.
Rare books. Out-of-print classics. Popular titles.
With thousands of books coming in daily, finding used books has never been easier.
Visit Scenic
powells.com
Powell's City of Books.
The legendary independent bookstore.
USED • NEW • RARE
OUT-OF-PRINT
800-291-2676

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his hawkish advisers' calls for a "preventive" strike? And how hair trigger might the nuclear standoff have grown had President Nixon chosen proliferation of antimissile systems over negotiation and stable deterrence? Now that the second Bush Administration has apparently decided that such hard-learned lessons no longer apply—embracing an aggressive unilateralism while spurning serious arms control for a new generation of defensive and offensive (including nuclear) weapons—reconsideration of the conventional wisdom is all the more urgent.

Given fears about the spread of nuclear arms, such rethinking should include the US failure to ratify a comprehensive test ban. It might also revisit the forgotten drama of Reykjavík. That was the 1986 summit where only the panicked intervention of several presidential aides—some of whom advise the current US Administration—pulled Ronald Reagan back from the brink of agreement to a sweeping nuclear weapons ban. (Gorbachev, for his part, insisted on limits to antimissile systems.) How different might our world be today if, in place of their short-term preoccupation with pressing America's advantage, those aides had shared some of Gorbachev's long-term vision? How much safer might we all be if, instead of the rivalry that encourages proliferation, Washington and Moscow had joined forces in pressing for global nuclear reductions? Viewed myopically, American victories have been, and perhaps will continue to be, impressive. But from a wider perspective—considering both what might have been and what still could be—history's verdict will likely be considerably harsher. ■

Partisan Requiem

PETER BROOKS

The announcement a few weeks ago that *Partisan Review* was closing shop after a run of nearly seventy years brought sadness—since *PR* at its best was a central site of American cultural life—but also a sense of inevitability. No one expected the journal to go on much longer after the death last year of its longtime editor William Phillips, who helped found it in 1934. Sadly, *PR* had been without vital signs for many years, its existence more and more a matter of cryonics.

At its proudest, *PR* offered a powerful if not always coherent emulsion of European Modernist culture and American left-wing anti-Stalinism. It justly took pride in denouncing Stalinism at a time when many on the left were still apologists for all that occurred in the Soviet Union, while it provided trenchant literary commentary on Eliot, Kafka, Malraux, Camus, Silone and many others. And the commentary came from such critics as Dwight Macdonald, Mary McCarthy, Irving Howe, Hannah Arendt, Lionel Trilling, and Steven Marcus. *PR* developed a distinctive New York style of cultural criticism, engaged with literature—especially the literature of ideas—but with a particular awareness of social context and the alienated condition of the modern artist. Other quarterlies—such as *Kenyon Review*—carried more refined formal literary analysis. In *PR*, it was the ideas that mattered most.

Both the cultural and political underpinnings of *PR* had collapsed by the 1960s. Its anti-Communism became irrelevant, since younger generations of Americans were all anti-Communist by then; virulent anti-Communism had largely become an excuse for a slide toward the right. The cultural avant-garde of high Modernism no longer held sway. What came along to replace it was baffling: a flirtation with the mass culture that *PR* writers had always disdained. The new sensibility often seemed indifferent to aesthetic discriminations.

PR's longstanding battle with the Stalinist left was poor preparation for understanding the student insurgency of the 1960s. The New Left had little connection to the struggles of the 1920s and '30s, and zero interest in the Communist Party. The old categories of analysis didn't apply. *PR* also missed a good deal of what was most interesting in the cultural sphere, since it was happening in literary genres it hadn't much needed to bother with before. European thought in the "human sciences," by such as Claude Lévi-Strauss, Jacques Lacan, Michel Foucault and Roland Barthes, didn't make much of a dent in *PR*. Nor did innovative American critical writing, which *PR* considered too theoretical and abstruse. There were, to be sure, the exceptionally important essays of Susan Sontag, who made her debut in *PR*. But her sensibility never fit easily into the *PR* context, and the work that interested her—by such as Jean-Luc Godard, Robert Bresson, Antonin Artaud, Michel Leiris—never became part of *PR*'s canon.

I published my first review in *PR* in 1964, and became a participant in William Phillips's attempts at dialogue between older and younger lefts. I recall a number of evenings of heated debate at his apartment in the Village, in a group that included Lionel and Diana Trilling, Steven Marcus, Robert Jay Lifton, Irving Howe, Richard Poirier, Morris Dickstein and others—meetings in which Phillips was attempting to find a probably nonexistent middle ground. (Lionel Trilling, who described the Columbia student uprising as "modernism in the streets," was closer than Phillips to understanding the cultural politics of the time.) I was a contributing editor of the magazine from 1972 to 1986, though I contributed less and less as my disagreements with Phillips grew ever greater. I wanted in particular to bring into *PR* some of the work of structuralists and their kin, but I largely failed. It never found a context in the magazine. Nor did sympathetic analysis of the "movement."

Phillips wanted to be a mediator, but he was nonetheless moving rightward, with accelerating speed as the 1970s turned into the 1980s. I often thought he was much too stung by the attacks of his old friends Norman Podhoretz and Midge Decter, who had turned *Commentary* into a neocon organ. Phillips resisted; he never wanted to identify himself outright as conservative. There is a depressing yardstick of how far he did move right in the symposium on political correctness sponsored by *PR* in 1993, later published as *Our Country, Our Culture* (the title echoed that of a more robust *PR* symposium from 1952). All the neocons holding sway during the "culture wars" contributed: Hilton Kramer, Roger Kimball, David Lehman, Glenn Loury, Robert Brustein, Heather MacDonald, Ronald Radosh. One after the other, they railed against "political correctness" as the clear and present danger to American civilization. Behind PC they found multiculturalism lurking, and behind that affirmative action, denounced over and over again.

Phillips himself identified PC at the

Peter Brooks is the author of a number of books, including Reading for the Plot *(Harvard) and* Troubling Confessions *(Chicago). He is Sterling Professor of Comparative Literature at Yale.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

symposium as "a New Left configuration," encompassing "extreme and radical feminist theories, gay and lesbian liberation studies and activities, ideas stemming from the deconstructionists, neo-Marxists, and remnants of old, revolutionary postures.... It is to a large extent anti-American, in some quarters anti-capitalist, pro-Third World, pro-minority, and anti-Western cultural and political interests." The language of patriotism entwines here with a confused understanding of the issues. One senses increasing rigor mortis in attitude and in the prose. The move of *PR* to Boston University, presided over by the ultraconservative John Silber, was itself a bad sign (though it must be said that a move somewhere was made necessary when Rutgers University attempted, in 1978, to force Phillips into retirement and to take over the magazine).

One can't then mourn for the demise of *PR* such as it had become in its long moribundity. But its disappearance is significant, sad and troubling as a sign of our present cultural state. We have lost a chief organ of mediation between high culture and a public of enlightened, largely urban laypersons. In fact, there is virtually no mediation at all now between academic intellectual work—in literary and cultural criticism especially—and that general public, if such still exists. The loss, I think, is grievous.

In 1941 a survey indicated that more than half of *PR*'s readers were in their 20s. By the time it died, its small readership must have been largely septuagenarian. What are the 20-year-olds now reading? If anything—if they are not wholly sated on MTV—it is certainly not the quarterlies. Successful magazines now aim at sociocultural "niches." The academic niches have some healthy periodicals—some of them indeed a good deal livelier than what *PR* had become—but their circulation is wimpy. Those who claim the role of public intellectual tend, in the vacuous media context, to become merely pundits.

Probably no quarterly publication could now perform the work of cultural mediation, bringing high art and smart commentary to a general audience: We've speeded up to the point where quarterlies always seem a bit out of it. Instant commentary is the thing. The more important question may be whether there is any print medium that is willing to take on the strenuous exercises in literature, culture and politics that once animated *PR*. Laying *PR* to rest makes us realize how long we've missed what it once did, and how long it's been since anyone else made the attempt. ■

Experience Cuba through its people. Learn about our Cuban neighbors and some of the social and economic challenges and opportunities they face. Meet with social pioneers, farmers, teachers, students, health professionals, artists, writers and musicians. And of course, enjoy the cultural treasures, traditional music and dance with CCS' Insight Cuba.

Discover Cuba with Insight

Cross-Cultural Solutions

• small groups • legal travel
• exciting • thought-provoking
• culturally-enriching programs

For more information contact:
1-800-380-4777 or 914-632-0022
www.traveltocubanow.org
info@crossculturalsolutions.org

ADVERTISE IN
THE NATION
(212) 209-5414

EVENTS

FLORIDA

Jim Hightower to Lead "Revolt" at FAU

■ Bestselling author and political commentator will appear at Florida Atlantic University (Davie) on Thursday, June 5, at 6 PM for an evening of rip-roarin', populist humor and agitation. RSVP required: PIASevents@aol.com. Seating limited to 250. Location: 2912 College Ave. More info? See www.piasglobal.com. Free event sponsored by the Politics and International Affairs Society.

NATIONAL

Economy Connection

■ War and Global Capitalism. Unemployment and Recession. For speakers and resources on these and related topics, contact Economy Connection, a project of the Union for Radical Political Economics. We can provide speakers for formal or informal events sponsored by community groups, unions, high schools, colleges or political organizations. Our speakers can talk about wealth and poverty, and the economic forces that generate increasing income inequality, among and within countries. Contact us at soapbox@comcast.net or (201) 792-7459.

The advertising deadline for Events is every Thursday. Rates: $175 for 50 words; $225 for 75 words, additional words (above 75) $2.00 each. To place an ad, call Michael at (212) 209-5414.

Classified

While we reserve the right to edit, reject or reclassify any advertisement, The Nation *wishes its readers to know we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

ART

DESTROYEVIL.COM: Friend, please do your morally upright part and DESTROYEVIL.com. This delightfully interactive art piece was created the night after George W. Bush's "Axis of Evil" speech. Evil animations added daily. HOORAY!

BOOKLETS

***HITLER AND THE POPE.* JOSEPH McCABE'S** authoritative commentary on an unholy alliance. Paper, $6 ppd. Independent Publications, Box 102, Ridgefield, NJ 07657-0102. See www.freethoughtbooks.com.

JESUS FICTIONAL—INCONTROVERTIBLE PROOF! Josephus created Jesus, gospels. Scholarly booklet: $5. Abelard, Box 5652-A, Kent, WA 98064. (Details: SASE.)

BOOKS

FREE CATALOGUE WITH OVER 800 "WILD-ASS" BOOKS! Is your reading material so tame that you might as well be watching TV? We offer more than 800 of the most far-out books you will ever see! If you love freedom of the press, you don't want to be without the famous "Loompanics" catalogue. Nearly 300 pages of mind-blowing ideas and information. Usually $5, but mention the *Nation* ad and it's yours FREE! Loompanics Unlimited, PO Box 1197, Port Townsend, WA 98368; see www.loompanics.com.

CLOTHING

DASH HEMP SANTA CRUZ Fall 2002: Contemporary Hemp Clothing for Men and Women. See www.dashhemp.com, call (877)-561-1824.

COUNSELING

CHICAGO PSYCHOTHERAPIST: Treat depression, anxiety, relationship problems, etc. Specialize in concerns of artists and academics. Sliding scale, insurance. Deborah Hellerstein, LCSW, (312) 409-9516.

LIBERAL LIAISONS

TASTEFUL ONLINE DATING FOR THE WELL-EDUCATED. Contact confirmed graduates of reputable universities. Free registration. Anonymous and easy to use. Developed by a Yale Law School alumnus. See www.thoughtfulsingles.com.

THE RIGHT STUFF: Date fellow graduates and faculty of the Ivies, Seven Sisters, Stanford, UCB, University of Chicago, Northwestern and others. More than 4,000 members. See www.rightstuffdating.com, (800) 988-5288.

EROTIC ADULT PHONE CONVERSATION with sensual, intelligent women. Any topic welcome! VISA/MC/AMEX. Call (888) 495-8255.

Concerned Singles

For almost two decades, Concerned Singles has linked singles concerned about peace, social justice, racism, gender equity, environment. Nationwide. All ages. Straight/Gay. Free Sample: Write Box 444-NA, Lenoxdale, MA 01242; call (413) 445-6309; or browse www.concernedsingles.com.

When responding to Liberal Liaisons send response to The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003, c/o (Box #).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified

MERCHANDISE

CORPORATE VALUES SUCK! T-shirt. An American classic! The perfect attire for those company meetings! See www.longviewrecords.com.

ENOUGH! I WANT MY COUNTRY BACK: 100 percent cotton, union-made T-shirt. To order send check or money order for $20 per shirt (no S/H) to DBA-ADB, Inc., 325 Broadway, Ste. 304, New York, NY 10007. Or call toll-free (888) 467-0900. Please indicate size (S, M, L, XL).

Rainbowstop Shoppe
Quality Products @ Reasonable Prices

AUTHENTIC 1960s CLOTH PEACE FLAGS. Beautiful and durable—the real thing. Must see! 3'x5', handmade by Laurie and Naomi. Dozens of other quality peace merchandise available. See www.rainbowstop.com or call (206) 295-8165.

LOVE YOUR COUNTRY? AGAINST THIS WAR? Show both with a *peace flag*! See www.peaceflags.org.

SOME THINGS ARE BLACK AND WHITE. Wear the peace button again. See www.PeaceButtons.info.

AND OTHER UNIQUE POLITICAL bumper stickers, T-shirts, satire and commentary: www.DemocracyMeansYou.com/order.

ORGANIZATIONS

PEACE CAN ONLY HAPPEN WHEN PROFIT IS REMOVED FROM WAGING WAR. There is a solution. TECHNOCRACY INC. See www.technocracyinc.org, call (360) 366-1012.

WESTERLY, RI, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. Call Patricia at (401) 596-9341 or e-mail fineco@riconnect.com.

LEWISVILLE, TX, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. Contact John at (972) 219-4673 for more information.

CULVER CITY, CA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meets on the 3rd Sunday of every month, 3–5 PM. For more information call Dorothy Gilden at (310) 391-0068.

JOIN THE TAMPA BAY AREA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP. Contact ehombord@tampabay.rr.com or call (727) 895-0208.

ORGANIZATIONS

SAN FRANCISCO/NORTH BAY/MARIN COUNTY *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meets the 2nd Tuesday of each month in Kentfield, Marin Co., at 7:30 PM. For more information call Garry Aguilar at (415) 464-0878.

WASHINGTON, DC, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meets third Saturday of the month at 3–5 PM. We invite new members. For more information call Frances Pasmanick at (202) 363-0278, e-mail fpasmanick@juno.com.

BRADENTON/SARASOTA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is meeting monthly. Please call (941) 761-4873 for time and place.

STONE MOUNTAIN, GA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. For further information please call David C. McHenry at (770) 498-1297 or e-mail dmchenry@attbi.com.

CEDAR FALLS/WATERLOO, IA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. Phone Lou Hellwig at (319) 266-5363 or e-mail shellwig@cfu.net for more information.

LOUISVILLE *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP looking for members. Please contact Lauren Kehr, at (502) 893-9643 for more information.

JOIN THE BALTIMORE *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP. For more information please contact Justin S. Hill, (410) 235-2917 or drshill@bellatlantic.net.

LAS VEGAS AREA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is looking for new members. Contact Harold Barling, (702) 736-6905 for more information.

ALBUQUERQUE *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meeting regularly. Call (505) 797-1455 or e-mail Helena7128@aol.com for more information.

ALBANY, NY, AREA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP forming. For further information contact Erin Mulrooney at mully_1217@yahoo.com.

HUNTINGTON, LI, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is looking for new members. Call John Valenti (631) 549-3926.

BRONX (RIVERDALE)/WESTCHESTER *NATION* DISCUSSION Group meets one afternoon a month. For further information please phone Florence Gold at (718) 549-1601.

BROOKLYN, PARK SLOPE *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP looking for new members. E-mail George Schroeder, schroeg@verizon.net, for details.

ORGANIZATIONS

ASHEVILLE, NC, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP IS FORMING. Contact Jerry McKinney for more information: Call (828) 452-7603 or e-mail jaymac_enterprises@yahoo.com.

CINCINNATI, OH, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meets regularly. Call Judith or Herbert Shapiro at (513) 861-4641.

EASTERN OKLAHOMA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP looking for members. Please contact Howard Kelley at (918) 627-9136.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

RECENTLY PUBLISHED WRITER AND RESEARCH ANALYST needs interns to research book on international peacekeeping organization. Fax résumé to (212) 288-7657.

COMMUNICATIONS COORDINATOR: *The Nation* is seeking a communications coordinator. This assistant position will support the business staff primarily within the syndication, advertising, circulation and fundraising departments. Responsibilities include database maintenance, invoicing, faxing, trafficking, filing, customer service and the coordination of our syndication efforts (processing requests, corresponding with editors, etc.). Applicant should be well-versed in FileMaker Pro and familiar with Excel and Word. Experience with Raiser's Edge a plus. Excellent communications skills and attention to detail required. Ability to handle multiple projects simultaneously. Competitive salary and excellent benefits. Minorities and people of color are strongly encouraged to apply. Send résumé and cover letter to Job Search, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, 8th Floor, New York, NY 10003; fax (212) 982-7193.

CLASSIFIED MANAGER—*The Nation*. America's oldest news weekly has an immediate opening for an enterprising and enthusiastic advertising sales representative with strong computer and organizational skills. Ideal candidate will have previous sales experience and an unwavering determination to convert record circulation growth into SMALL DISPLAY AND CLASSIFIED ad revenue. Base salary, commission and excellent benefits. Diversity candidates encouraged to apply. Fax résumé to V.P. Advertising, (212) 982-9000 or e-mail to ellen@thenation.com.

PUBLICATIONS

FIND A PLAYMATE INTO SPANKING! Secure personals online! Color video brochures $5. Shadow Lane-NAT, Box 1910, Studio City, CA 91614-0910. Call (818) 985-9151, see www.shadowlane.com.

PUBLISHERS

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK, IVY HOUSE PUBLISHING GROUP: All subjects considered. Call (800) 948-2786 or see www.ivyhousebooks.com.

SERVICES

WRITER, PUBLICIST FOR PROGRESSIVE CAUSES Experienced freelance writer of op-eds, mission statements, annual reports, Congressional testimony and publicity material will help your organization communicate its message. Extensive track record. Reasonable rates. E-mail whabeeb@msn.com.

WRITERS' WORKSHOPS

PROFESSIONAL WRITING WORKSHOPS in legendary Mexican village: "The Shape of an Idea: Nonfiction Retreat," Joyce Johnson and Magda Bogin, August 15–23. "Writing Master Classes," Jessica Hagedorn and TBA, January 8–15, 2004. "Writing From Scratch: Fiction Intensive for Beginners," Abigail Thomas and Magda Bogin, January 24–31, 2004. Information and application at www.underthevolcano.org.

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates and Frequency Discounts: STANDARD $3.50/word, 15-word minimum; PO Box and telephone numbers count as two words.

Buy 4 runs, pay $3.15 per word
Buy 10 runs, pay $3.00 per word
Buy 24 runs, pay $2.75 per word
Buy 47 runs, pay $2.25 per word

Logos: We will print your logo and center the headline of your advertisement for an additional fee of $30/insertion. Maximum size for a logo is 2 1/4″ wide by 1/2″ deep. Stat of logo should accompany ad copy and payment.

Deadline: Tuesday, 3 PM, 26 days prior to Monday issue date.

Payment in US currency or major credit card must accompany order.

Enclosed is my check for $ _____ for _____ insertions at $ _____ / word rate.

"Personals" advertisers: Be sure to include $30 for Nation Box number/forwarding service.

For all ads please include your name, address and contact phone number with your ad. You can fax your classifieds to us at (212) 982-9000 or e-mail michael@thenation.com.

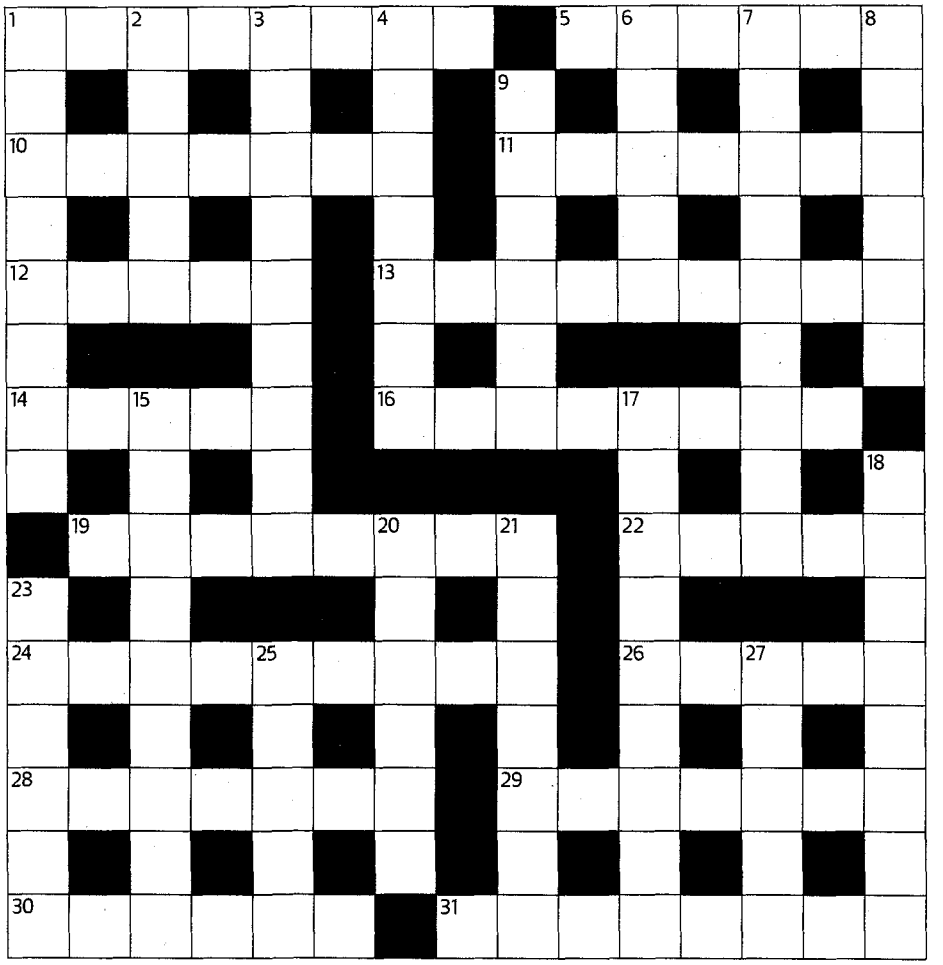
Attach ad, typewritten if possible.

The Nation, Classified Department, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUZZLE NO. 2894

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and **5** Cast first, on what the kids ride in "walkings out," which are not called for. (7,7)

10 The point in vestiges, is that people go into them rather unconsciously. (7)

11 Move around quietly, and you will get to see the Queen of England with someone of your own standing. (7)

12 A monkey wrench in the works caused by what you hope to get by use of the thumb. (5)

13 It's rather rare to see where accomplishments may be filed. (9)

14 Where Walter was told to lead me, but one hears change is made by it. (5)

16 Wild rush mats turned the wrong way have deep finish, possibly. (8)

19 A sorry case indeed, when one is, in passing. (8)

22 It may not be the first time you've seen it, concerning what happens in Pamplona. (5)

24 A rather redundant way to get lifted, since you can't get the first word down! (Oh, dispute is terrible!) (7,2)

26 Ishmael's mother was an old witch, with a rough beginning. (5)

28 This is about communication outside normal ability, as a Greek poet pointed out. (7)

29 One of those Americans who was called a "comer," before gin wrongly made a jerk. (7)

30 Dines more properly—at least eats the middle part, possibly. (6)

31 See 1 down

DOWN

1, and **23** down and **31** across One way they used to ask the time? Or were they just inquiring about the darkness? (8,4,2,3,5)

2 A stale order, but as small as possible. (5)

3 What the little kid rode, if the hopeful outlook was to see a lady rider. (9)

4 They may start the play with a 50-50 chance of solution. (7)

6 An unfounded one may be called idle, but you hear such a one may stay with you. (5)

7 Hang the groceries, as the teacher may be expected to do. (4,5)

8 and **18** down What a waiter does correctly, but it sounds as though one gets just desserts when told this. (6,3,5)

9 A rotter with first-class upbringing, in a former French province of Canada. (6)

15 Films here in London to give them a nice change. (3,6)

17 A good score gets the negative response in Paris, being the tourist's goal in Athens. (9)

18 See 8 down

20 It's possibly unhappy at first, but one may think wrong is right. (6)

21 Possibly two pictures together, being extremely pretty when mixed up with the gutter. (7)

23 See 1 down

27 and **25** Headed for Mary Jane, as they say, and headed in the wrong direction. (5,2,3)

PUZZLED? No more cross words. If you don't see why "Lures" are "Ground Rules" send for those of Mr. Lewis to: Puzzled, *The Nation*, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003, or access our website at www.thenation.com/print/hints.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO.2893

C	O	O	L	C	U	S	T	O	M	E	R	S		
U		R		O		E		V		N		P		B
T	A	C	K	Y		P	R	E	D	A	T	O	R	Y
A		H		O		I		R		M		R		P
P	L	E	C	T	R	A		R	O	O	S	T	E	R
O		S		E				I		U				E
O	A	T	H	S		O	R	D	E	R	A	R	M	S
R		R				N		E				E		C
F	L	A	U	T	I	S	T	S		D	E	F	E	R
I				O		L				A		E		I
G	A	L	A	T	E	A		A	I	R	D	R	O	P
U		E		A		U		S		K		E		T
R	E	A	S	S	I	G	N	S		E	N	N	U	I
E		S		T		H		A		S		D		O
		E	L	E	C	T	R	I	C	T	R	A	I	N

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAN HONEY REPLACE DRUGS?

In 1989, an editorial in the respected British publication, the *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* stated:

> The therapeutic potential of uncontaminated, pure honey is grossly underutilized. It is widely available in most communities and although the mechanism of action of its properties remains obscure and needs further investigation, the time has come for conventional medicine to lift the blinds off this traditional remedy and give it its due recognition. (Vol. 82, pp.384-385).

In the 14 years since this editorial appeared, there has been an outpouring of work on honey—not anecdotes, but solid scientific studies—that document the medicinal value of honey.

The medicinal benefits of honey are due to honey's antibacterial properties and to its moisture retaining properties.

Honey has been show effective against a wide range of bacteria, including Helicobacter pylori (the main cause of stomach ulcers, and implicated in a number of other maladies) and Staphylococcus aureus, aka Staph (drug resistant strains of this pernicious bacterium are causing problems in hospitals across the country).

Honey has been shown to provide relief for, or to cure, a number of different disorders, including, but not limited to the following:

Diarrhea, ulcers, infections, irritable bowel syndrome (IBS), gastrointestinal problems, and staphylococcus (staph) infections.

Infectious diseases caused by bacteria that are sensitive to Honey include the following:

Anthrax, diphtheria, urinary tract infections, ear infections, meningitis, respiratory infections, sinusitis, pneumonia, tuberculosis, infected animal bites, typhoid, dysentery, abscesses, boils, carbuncles, impetigo, tooth decay, puerperal fever, rheumatic fever, sore throat and cholera.

A number of different types of wounds have been successfully treated with Honey, including:

abrasions, amputations, abscesses, bed sores, burns, burst abdominal wounds following cesarean delivery, cancrum, cervical ulcers, chilblains, cracked nipples, cuts, diabetic foot ulcers and other diabetic ulcers, a fistula, foot ulcers in lepers, infected wounds arising from trauma, large septic wounds, leg ulcers, malignant ulcers, sickle cell ulcers, skin ulcers, surgical wounds, wounds to the abdominal wall and perineum, varicose ulcers.

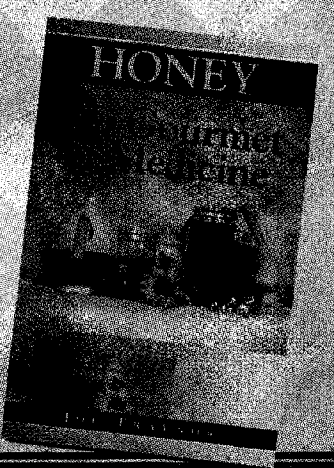
The drug industry spends billions on advertising and promotion—$7 billion on sales representatives alone (*The New Republic*, December 16, 2002), billions more on print and TV ads. In contrast, the total sales of honey in the U.S. are miniscule—well under a billion dollars. The drug industry has a powerful lobby in Washington D.C., the honey industry has none. The "side effects" portion of drug information often runs into thousands of words; there are no side effects for honey. The advertising budget for honey is next to nothing. The positive results of clinical studies on honey are truly amazing—if drug companies had results like this you'd be bombarded with the data. Now, a new book details the amazing, proven benefits of honey.

HONEY
The Gourmet Medicine
by Joe Traynor

"...an eye opener...especially pertinent in this time of multidrug-resistant bacteria."
—Daniel Blodgett, M.D.

"...very informative and well-written. I highly recommend this book for everyone, especially medical professionals."
—Christopher M. Kim, M.D.

Order 2 copies at the regular price (+shipping) and get a 3rd copy **FREE** *(no shipping charge for the 3rd copy)*.



CONTENTS (partial list)

PART I: HONEY AS MEDICINE
Composition of Nectar and Honey
Honey as Medicine
Antibacterial Properties of Honey
Other Health Benefits
Honey for Wounds
Honey for Burns
Honey for Stomach Problems
Honey for the Eyes
Honey for the Skin
Honey for Other Maladies
Honey: A Remedy for Antibiotic Resistance
Honey: A Medicine Without a Profit

PART II: HONEY FOR ATHLETES
The Ultimate Sports Drink

Buying Honey
Recipes
Mead and Honey

ONLY 9.95 + $3.00 shipping

Call BOOKMASTERS (TOLL-FREE)
1-800-247-6553

OR USE THE FORM BELOW

To: BookMasters, 30 Amberwood Pkwy.
Ashland, OH 44805

YES! Please rush me:

____ copy(s) of Honey - The Gourmet Medicine

Method of payment:

☐ Check ☐ Money Order ☐ Visa®
☐ MasterCard® ☐ Discover® ☐ Amex®

CARD NO._____ EXP. DATE _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED